THE

CASE OF PERSECUTION,

Charg'd on the

Church of England,

Consider'd and Discharg'd, &c.

208 x 162
(28), 74 p.
(25-42 omitted)

THE Case of PERSECUTION, Charg'd on the Church of England, Consider'd and Discharg'd, In order to Her JUSTIFICATION, AND A *Desired Union of Protestant Dissenters.*

The Parliament made good Laws: The Papists, out of a Pretended Reverence to Tender Consciences, hindred the Execution of them; and some Leading Dissenters (to say no more) had private Incouragement, to set up *a mighty Cry of Persecution*, to cast all the Odium on a Persecuting Church, and Diocesan Canoneers. *Defence of Dr.* Stillingfleet, *p.* 68.

But Wisdom is justified of her Children, Matth. xi. xix.

Licensed and Entred according to Order.

LONDON:

Printed by *Freeman Collins*; and are to be Sold by *Richard Baldwin*, in the *Old-Bailey*.

M DC LXXXIX.

LIBRARY OF THE
UNION
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY

MCALPIN
1689
L851
C

TO THE

Right Reverend Father in GOD,

JONATHAN,

Lord Biſhop

OF

EXON.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

THIS ſlender Preſent comes as a grateful Expreſſion of that great Satisfaction and Joy with which your Clergy were filled, when your Lordſhip was inſtalled our Dioceſan.

Your Lordſhip's Client, according to his mean Abilities, hath lately endeavoured after our Saviour's Method, to render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's; and now he eſſays to give unto God, and his Church, the things that are God's. The Offering, I confeſs, is little, and lean, but coming as a Dove with an Olive Branch to that Ark, which hath been long toſſed with

ſucceed

succeeding Waves, bringing Tidings of the Abatement of that Deluge which had overflown the Church and Nation, and that the frightful Noise of Persecution *doth now cease in our Land; I hope it may be taken into that Ark by your Lordships Hand. The Widows Mite which she cast into the Treasury, was graciously accepted by our blessed Saviour, and indeed it is only your Lordships Approbation can give a Value to this Mite, as the Royal Stamp doth to those Metals which have no Intrinsick value in themselves. My endeavour is by a few Arguments, to silence those Murmurings, Fears, and Jealousies, that the Church of* England *will be (as they slanderously report it hath been) a* Persecuting Church; *and this would be as needless, if we had to do with reasonable Men, and real Protestants, as to prove, that the Martyr'd Bishops in Queen* Mary's *days, who also were our first Reformers, were Persecutors, and destroyers of that Religion which they planted by their Doctrine, and watered with their Bloud in every corner of their Kingdom, and which hitherto as a fruitful Vine hath brought forth such Fruit as hath honoured GOD and Man. But what need is there to draw a Line, when we have the Works of* Apelles *before us.*

Judges 9. 11.

The more then Heroick Deeds of your self, and those ever memorable Bishops your Colleagues, of whom our English *World was not worthy, have struck dead all such Objectors, who as one Man stood up, as* Phinees *did, and by Petitioning, or as the other Translation hath it, by executing of Judgment,* Psal. 106. v. 30.

And by laying not only your Dignities and Honours, but your Lives and Fortunes in the Gap, gave a check and diversion to those Plagues of Popery and Slavery, which with so much otherwise Irresistible Violence were breaking in upon us.

And

And how can theſe Biſhops be any longer accounted Perſecutors, or unworthy of the Miter, who were ſuch prepared Candidates for a Crown of Martyrdom for themſelves, and ſo reſolved Aſſertros of the liberty of the Goſpel, and the Kingdom of God and our Saviour, for their Proteſtant Brethren. But as Suetonius, *c.* 74. *ſays of* Julius Cæſar, *That he thought it not enough that his Wife was without a Fault, but that ſhe ought to be clear from all Suſpicion of a Fault.* Oportet uxorem Cæſaris non ſolum crimine verum omni Criminis ſuſpicione carere.

His preſent Majeſty, after mature Conſideration, hath now conſummated the Union of our Eſtabliſhed Church with his Royal Perſon, which he long ſince eſpouſed by its Proxy, and lively Effigies, His Royal Conſort, and which hath hitherto to his good liking, behaved her ſelf, ἀμώμως *as an unſpotted Virgin; for thus hath our Royal Sovereign ſolemnly declared in the moſt Auguſt Aſſembly of the Nation,* That he is reſolved to ſupport that Church, whoſe Loyalty he doubted not would enable him to Anſwer their juſt Expectation, and that it ſhould be always his particular Care, and as ſoon as conveniently it might be he would call a Convocation: *So that now there is as little cauſe of Suſpicion left,* that the Eſtabliſhed Church ſhould be a Perſecuting, as that it can be a Popiſh Church; *or that we ſhall have meerly a Parliamentary Religion, as the Papiſts ſay, as that we ſhall have a Popiſh Religion, as ſome Diſſenters fear. It is too apparent, that the Church was ſingled out as a Sacrifice, and devoted by the Papiſts to Deſtruction, and for Protection, as a Dove Perſecuted by the* Romiſh *Eagle; ſhe hath taken Sanctuary in the Boſom of our preſent Soveraign, and who can think that under the*

Influence and Conduct of so propitious and benign a Protestant Prince, that Dove should be transubstantiated into a Serpent. Nor can her greatest Enemy suppose her to be so void of all Reason and Religion, as to forget those Vows which she made in that day of her Distress, which our Divisions made so Dark and Tempestuous, of her ready Inclination to a happy Union, in which our Strength and Security against our common Adversaries doth consist. And the God of Peace, who only can do it, make us all that dwell in one House, to be of one Mind, to know and do the things that belong to our Peace, before they are hid from our Eyes.

I beg your Lordships Patience to hear a great Truth, which will never shame its Owner. We were at first hurried at so great a distance from one another, crumbled into so many Sects and Factions, and have been for almost Fifty Years together, running into irremediable Separations, by the Whips and Spurs of those furious Drivers and Riders, our common Enemies the Papists, whose secret, but now sensible Lashes, (and they must needs go, whom the Devil transformed into an Angel of Light, doth drive) have forced us to run into such Confusion, and Corruption, as none but he that raiseth the Dead could repair the decayed Careasses of our Church and State. And very Glorious would those Bodies have appeared at that Resurrection, were it not for some wrangling Sadducees, *who would rather maintain an Annihilation, than grant a Resurrection; for whose Confutation it was necessary, for such as were concerned on the behalf of the Church, to assert her Doctrine, and their own Innocency under the late Revolutions; when therefore for the Re-*

establishment of the Church, a Commission was granted to some of different Persuasions, to consult thereupon; the Spirit of the Covenant did so stir in some Dissenters, as to move them to insist upon a necessity of Reformation of Episcopacy, and Liturgy, of Doctrine and Worship, to which the Advocates for the Church could not yield to the Satisfaction of their Adversaries, unless they had taken the guilt of all the former Wars and Confusions on themselves, and so have given their Adversaries an occasion to cry Victoria, *and to triumph in their Destruction; from which they were sufficiently cautioned by the unreasonable Dealings of those Men with the Royal Martyr, who taking Advantage by his too free, but on their parts forced Concessions, granting them all that in Reason and Conscience he could part with, still craved more, until they most unconscionably, and barbarously had worried him out of his Life. God forbid such Obstinacy should still be predominant among us, when there are so many powerful Adversaries watching and labouring for our Divisions and Destruction. We have chosen indifferent Arbitrators to compose our Divisions, and heal our Breaches, and by the Blessing of God, we have an Umpire who is both able and willing to determine them; let us once more agree to submit to their Determination, and I doubt not, that although we may not have what may please every one, yet we may have what will profit us all. And now, my Lord, I beg your Pardon for this Trespass on your Patience, and heartily pray God for his Blessing on your Lordship's Endeavours in that Station wherein you now are, the Consideration of which (it being for a more publick benefit) can only compensate your Absence, until*

till

till it ſhall pleaſe God to grant us your Preſence for our more particular welfare, which is much deſired, and will be very acceptable to this your Dioceß, and Native Country : And eſpecially to

Exon, April 27. 1689. being the day of your Lordſhip's Inſtallation.

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Humbly

Devoted Servant,

THO. LONG.

THE OCCASION OF Publiſhing THIS TREATISE.

IT was not the numerous Pamplets, which like ſo many Swarms of Inſects raiſed out of Dunghils, have darkned and infected the *Engliſh* Air, and darting forth their impotent Stings, as ſo many Ephimeri, died the ſame day, *Animamque in vulnere ponunt*; but the Witchcraft of ſuch as would raiſe the Dead to infect the Living; and as Evil Spirits diſturb the Bodies of ſuch as would reſt in their Graves, to affright men out of their Wits firſt, and then out of their Religion, that hath given occaſion to this little Tract: For to this end, the Poſthumous Works of Mr. *Clarkſon*, concerning Epiſcopacy and Liturgy, are Conjur'd up; and two Fiery Flying-Serpents, ſo full gorg'd with with Venome,

nome, that unless they vented it, it would have broke them, are flown abroad to amuse and infect the Unwary People, and turn their *Hosana's* to the Bishops, into a *Crucifigite*, and by perpetuating our Divisions, to keep open those Gaps that our Common Enemies have made, to bring in *Popery and Slavery* upon us: Such I take to be that Buffoonry Scribler, *Hickringle*, who prophanely Drolls in Scripture-phrase, and as the Spawn of the *Great Leviathan*, or *Solomon*'s Fool, casts Fire-brands, Arrows, and Death, and makes it his Sport to do Mischief: an unlucky Bird, that attempts not only to Defile, but Destroy his own Nest by setting it on Fire: With this Boutefeu Mr. *R. B.* hath joyned himself in the same Design; and though like *Sampson*'s Foxes, they look several ways, yet are they agreed, with Fire-brands at their Tails, to run through and destroy our Corn-fields. These are such sworn Enemies to the Peace of the Church, as nothing can satisfie, but a *delenda Carthago*, they lay their Axes to the root of that Tree, by the fall whereof they must inevitably perish. Their Works are so filthy and nauseous, that none but such as delight to wallow in the Mire, or to lick up what others have vomited forth, will fix an eye upon them: As to Mr. *R. B.*'s late, but often repeated and refuted Scribble, called, *The English Non-conformity under King* Charles *the Second, and King* James *the Second*; the words in the Title-page, and in the Conclusion, will sufficiently discover the Temper of the Workman, and the Nature of the Materials, to be both obb and warp from the beginning to the end; true *Kidderminster-Stuff*: In the Title page, he earnestly beseecheth Rulers and Clergy, not to divide the Land, and cast their own Souls on the dreadful Guilt and Punishment of National Perjury, Lying, deliberate Covenanting, to Sin against God,

Corrupt

Corrupt his Church, and not Amend; nor by Laws, or blind Malignity, to Reproach Faithful Miniſters of Chriſt, and Judge them to Scorn and Beggardy, and to lye and dye in Goals as Rogues, and ſo to ſtrengthen Prophaneneſs, Popery and Schiſm; and all for want of Willingneſs and Patience to Read and Hear their Juſt Defence, while they can ſpend much more time in Sin and Vanity: The Author humbly beggs, that he and his Books of Unconfuteable Defence, of a Miſtaken Perſecuted Cauſe, may not be Witneſſes againſt them, for ſuch great and wilful Sin, to their Condemnation; to which he ſubjoyns from *Luke* 13. 3, 5. *Except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.* In the ſecond Page, he boaſts (of what indeed ought to be his Shame) of his *Pleas for Peace*, wherein, he ſays, he ſhew'd how great and hainous the Sin of Conformity is. 2ly, Of his Treatiſe of Epiſcopacy. 3ly, Of his Apoloy. 4ly, Of another Plea for Peace. 5ly, Of a Treatiſe of Church-Concord: and that nothing like an Anſwer to any of theſe, hath been made, ſave that to ſome part of the firſt, ſome meer impertinant Noiſe, by ſome One that is Confuted, *p.* 3. I wonder much that ſuch Learned Men as Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Morrice*, and others, who have Anſwer'd his Pleas (for Separation, not) for Peace, and his Tract of Epiſcopacy, *&c.* ſhould condeſcend to draw the Saw with ſo Contentious a Perſon; but much more, that after they had ſo expoſed him, as an Ignorant and Malicious Scribler, he ſhould again expoſe himſelf ſo far as to remind his Readers to enquire after thoſe Anſwers which will demonſtrate with how great Malice, and little Learning he did, and ſtill doth oppoſe himſelf, even againſt thoſe things, which in his Sober Intervals, he did allow. In the 4th Chapter, he reckneth up Forty things required to Conformity, which he accounts to be Sinful:

and in Chapter 56. Thirty Tremendous Circumstances and Principles that affright Men from Conformity.

His Words in the Conclusion, *p.* 303. are these: *If it be the Preachers of the Gospel, that yet will give the Land no Peace, but cry out, Execute, Prosecute, suffer not, strike home, and their Judgment be the Executioners Encouragement, who say, The Clergy tell us it is our Duty: I had rather answer them with Tears than Words---- Is not Silencing, taking all we have, and lying in Jayle among Rogues, from six Months to six Months, till we dye, greater Slavery than the* Turks *inflict on Christians? What is this for, and on what sort of Men? Who be they that have caused and continued it, after Twenty Seven Years experience of the Effects? What is Diabolism, if this be not? Why is not Publick Repentance of it Proclaimed?* Now whereto tends all this, but to make the World believe, that the Church of *England*, and such Rulers as Defend and Support it, are all of them Lying, Perjured, and Intolerable Persecutors. As for his Colleague Mr. *Hickringle*, I shall need to say no more than this: That the Design of his Book against Ceremony-Mongers, is sufficiently shewn, by his other Book against the *TEST* and *Penal Laws*; as if the Injunction of them were a Persecution; for the removal of which Groundless Scandal, the following Treatise is now Published.

The

The Preface.

SINCE it hath pleaſed Almighty GOD, *in his tender Compaſſion to a Sinful Nation, to ſet over us a King and Queen who do naturally take Care for us, and as induſtriouſly ſeek to Unite and Preſerve, as the late King did to Divide and Deſtroy us: We ſhould no longer think of ſhewing our Zeal for Chriſt, as* James *and* John *did, by calling for Fire from Heaven to conſume all ſuch as follow not us and our Opinion; but as uſeful Members under ſuch an able Head, Unite into one Body, that we may withſtand the furious Attempts of our Common Adverſaries, who inceſſantly ſeek to improve the Seeds of Diſcord, which they have ſown amongſt us, for our utter Extirpation: And that I may remove and prevent the Prejudices which ſuch as have hitherto Separated from the Eſtabliſhed Worſhip, have conceived againſt the Governours of the Church, under Regal Authority, I ſhall here deſire them to conſider, what Condeſcentions and Conceſſions they have been always ready to make for the Eaſe of all Tender Conſciences, and to which they are ready to Agree, when-ever the Supreme Power ſhall commit the Conſideration of thoſe things to the Parliament and Convocation.*

His Majeſty Charles *the Second, in a Declaration from* Breda, *promiſed a Liberty to Tender Conſciences, and that no Man ſhould be diſquieted or called in queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which did not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that he ſhould be ready to conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation ſhould be offered to him, for granting ſuch an Indulgence: After which he ſets forth his Declaration to all his loving Subjects of the Kingdom of* England, *and Dominion of* Wales, *concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, Dated at* White-hall *the* 25th *of* October, 1660; *which certainly was ſufficient to ſatisfie all ſober Proteſtants: He grants a Commiſſion to ſome Perſons of the Presbyterian, as well as of the Epiſcopal*

Perſwaſion; but what little Effect all theſe things wrought towards a Reconciliation, and by whoſe Fault, will thus appear: In his Majeſty's Declaration, he deſired the Diſſenters to Read as much of the Common-Prayers, *as they had no juſt Exceptions againſt: yet, though ſome had declared, they could Uſe the greateſt part of it, I never heard, that any of them did comply with ſo reaſonable a Deſire of his Majeſty; but inſtead thereof, they Petition for a Reformation both of Doctrine and Diſcipline, and that Commiſſioners might be appointed to Compile a New Form, or Reform the Old. And though the King denied the making of a New, having expreſſed his eſteem of the Old, in his Declaration,* Octob. 25. *yet Mr.* B. *or ſome others, drew up another Liturgy, in eight Days time, which they confeſſed had many Imperfections, yet they call it their more* Correct Nepenthe, *and Proteſt before God and Men, againſt the* Doſe of Opium; (i. e.) *the Liturgy recommended by the King and Parliament, as that which tended to the Cure of their Diſeaſe, by Extinguiſhing of Life, and to Unite them in a Dead Religion; and tell the Biſhops,* If theſe be all the Amendments and Abatements you will admit, you ſell your Innocency and the Churches Peace for nothing. *And in the due Account and Petition, they reflect as ſeverely upon his Majeſty, ſaying,* We muſt needs believe, that when his Majeſty took our Conſent to a Liturgy, to be a Foundation that would infer our Concord, you (i. e. *your Majeſty)* meant not that we ſhould have no Concord, but by conſenting to this Liturgy without any conſiderable Alterations. *And in the cloſe of the ſecond Paper, they tell the King,* If they ſhould loſe the opportunity of their deſired Reconciliation, it aſtoniſheth them to foreſee what doleful Effects our Diviſions would produce. *As* Baſil *ſaid to* Valens, *ſo they, p.* 117. *of their Reply,* If you will receive the true Faith, thy Son ſhall live; which when he refuſed, he ſaid, The Will of God be done with thy Son: So we ſay too; if you will put on Charity, and promote the Churches Peace, God will Honour you, but if you will do contrary, the Will of the Lord be done, with your Honours.

And as to the Laws, in a Prognoſtication ſet out 1661, *p.* 12, 13. *they talk of new Impoſitions, Subſcriptions and Oaths, Words and Actions which they believe to be againſt the Word of God; this reflects on the Legiſlators. Dr.* Stillingfleet *obſerved of the firſt Plea for Peace,* That it lookt as if it had been deſigned

on

on purpose to represent the Clergy of our Church, as a company of Notorious Lying and Perjured Villains. *And that Author, in his Answer to the Doctor's Sermon, p. 73. chargeth him with pleading for* Presumption, Prophanation, Usurpation, Uncharitableness, and Schism. *And in the Preface of the Second Defence, That the Doctor's Book is made up of* 1. Untrue Accusations. 2. Untrue Historical Citations. 3. Fallatious Reasonings. *That Learned Doctor had propounded several Concessions to be made for the Ease of Dissenters, (not without the Consent and Direction of his Superiours, as I have been informed) all which Mr.* B. *rejects, saying, That the Benefit would redound* sibi & suis; *not reaching our Necessities, p. 21. of the Second Defence. I cannot omit what an ingenious Person writes in his Defence of Dr.* Stillingfleet, *which may serve to retort this Reflection, p. 68. I will tell Mr.* B. *a Secret which I have heard, but hope he will not put me to prove it*; That the Parliament made good Laws, the Papists, out of pretended Reverence to Tender Consciences, hindred the Excution of them: and some Leading Fanaticks (to say no more) had private Incouragement, to set up a mighty Cry of Persecution, to cast all the Odium on a Persecuting Church, and Diocesan Canoneers. *In the Year* 1681, *was printed an Apology for the Non-conformist Ministers, to justifie their Preaching contrary to Law; the Book is directed to the Right Reverend Bishops of* London, Lincoln, Hereford, Carlile, St. David's, *and* Peterborough, *and others, of their Moderation, which he calls our best Bishops: But with what Reverence and Moderation doth the Author Treat them? P.* 233. We Humbly lay these Petitions at your Feet, and beseech you, for the Souls of many Hundred Thousands, that you who call yourselves Fathers and Pastors of the Church, will not deny them the Bread of Life: We beseech you to come out of your Palaces, and be familiar with the People, and dwell in some Country Village, as we have done, that you may not see many Hundred Thousands Damned by your means, and you have nothing to say, when it is too late, but a *non Putarum*, that the instances of the obduration of *Pharoah*, and the *Pharisees*, make you not afraid, lest the Wrath of God come upon you to the utmost, while you please not God, and are contrary to all Men, forbidding Christ's Labourers to preach to the Ignorant and Impenitent, that they may be saved:

1 *Theſſ.* 2. 15. O that God would make them ſenſible how many-thouſand perſons Damnation is like to be charged upon them for what they have already done, theſe ſeventeen Years, hindring ſo many Faithful Miniſters: I muſt profeſs, if it were the laſt word I ſhould ſpeak, in the World, that I had rather be the baſeſt Scavenger, yea, and ſuffer many Deaths, than be found at the Judgment-Seat of Chriſt, in the Place and Guilt of thoſe of you (the beſt and moſt moderate Biſhops, *&c.*) who have done what is done againſt the Goſpel and Church of Chriſt in this Land. *In p.* 236. *the Author oppoſeth this Queſtion in behalf of the Biſhops,* Why do I write all this to you (Biſhops,) and not to his Majeſty and the Parliament? *I anſwer,* It is not them, nor any of their Laws and Actions, which in all this Book, I intend to ſpeak againſt— *Yet the whole deſign of the Book was to Juſtifie the Preaching of Non-conformiſts contrary to Law. And p.* 104. *he ſays,* No Biſhops have Silenced us by Spiritual Government, that we know of, but only as Barons by the Secular Laws, to which they gave their Votes; and *(he acknowledgeth)* all did not. *Theſe Contradictions cannot be reconciled: And it was no leſs then a Spirit of Contradictions that wrought in the hearts of ſuch Men as thus oppoſed themſelves to the Eſtabliſhment made by the Parliament, notwithſtanding the many Alterations then made in the Liturgy and Rubricks, and the Reaſons given for them in the Preface before the Common-Prayer, and the Diſcourſe concerning Ceremonies, which there follows. And becauſe the farther Conceſſions oppoſed by that Learned Dr.* Stillingfleet, *may give ſome ſatisfaction to the Reader, how willing the Church was to propoſe Terms of Reconciliation, I have here ſet them down, that it may appear alſo, how unreaſonably they were deſpiſed by the Men of that Generation: And that this Doctor may not ſtand alone, or be thought to propoſe his own Sentiments only, I ſhall joyn with him the Reverend Dean of* Canterbury, *in a Sermon preach'd at the* York-ſhire *Feaſt,* Anno 1679, *p.* 28. Though it was not for private Perſons *(ſays he)* to undertake in matters of publick Concernment, yet I have no cauſe to doubt, but the Governours of our Church (notwithſtanding all the Advantages, and Authority too, which are on their ſide) were perſons of that Piety and Prudence, that for Peace ſake, and in order to a firm Union among Proteſtants, they would be content, if that

that would do it, not to insist upon little things, but to yield them up, whether to the Infirmity or Importunity, or perhaps in some very few things to the plausible Exceptions of those who differed from them. *Dr.* Sherlock *makes up a Triumvirate, after whom I shall not need, though I could mention many Auxiliaries, in a Sermon preached before the Lord-Mayor,* Novemb. 1688. We have reason to hope, that the Church of *England,* which at the beginning of the Reformation, took such prudent care not to offend the Papists in going farther from them than was necessary, will, whenever it is likely to do good, condescend to a great deal farther than it is necessary to Reform, to meet the Dissenters; for while the External Decency, Gravity, and Solemnity of Worship is secured, no wise and good Man will think much to change a changeable Ceremony, when it will heal the Divisions and Breaches of the Church: And let us all heartily pray to God, that there may be this good and peaceable Disposition of Mind in all Conformists and Non-conformists towards a happy Reunion. And all considering Men will think it time to lay aside such little Disputes, when it is not meerly the Church of *England,* nor any particular Sect of Protestants, whose Ruine is aimed at, but the whole Protestant Faith.

And to evidence that this was the Sence of the Governours of our Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, *with his Six Brethren, did declare, in their Petition to the late King,* That they did not refuse to distribute and publish his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, for any want of due Tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a Temper, as should be thought fit, when that matter should be considered and setled in Parliament and Convocation.

And in the Articles commended to the Bishops of his Province, and their Clergy, he Exhorts, That they walk in Wisdom towards them that are not of our Communion; and if there be in their Parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the Spirit of Meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain them to our Communion; more especially, that they have a very tender regard to our Brethren the Protestant Dissenters, that upon occasion offered, they visit them at their Houses, and

receive

receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly where-ever they meet them, perſwading them, if it may be, to a full Compliance with our Church, or at leaſt, that whereunto we have already attained, we may all walk by the ſame Rule, and mind the ſame Thing; and in order hereunto, that they take all opportunities of aſſuring and convincing them, that the Biſhops of this Church are really and ſincerely irreconcileable to the Errours, Superſtitions, Idolatries, and Tyrannies of the Church of *Rome*; and that they warmly and moſt affectionately exhort them to joyn with us in daily fervent Prayer to the God of Peace, for an univerſal bleſſed Union of all the Reformed Churches, at home and abroad, againſt our common Enemies, and that all they who confeſs the Holy Name of our Dear Lord, and agree in the Truth of his Holy Word, may alſo meet in one Holy Communion, and live in perfect Unity and Godly Love. *And it is well known, that many Miniſters in the City and Country, were accounted Trimmers, and threatned to be Proſecuted themſelves, becauſe they refuſed to Preſent and Proſecute their Diſſenting Neighbours: So that both the Biſhops, and others of the Eſtabliſhed Clergy, have been alway ready to Sacrifice their private Peace and Intereſt, to the publick Welfare.*

The Reverend Dean of St. Paul's *Propoſals, or Terms of Union, betwixt the Church of* England, *and the Diſſenters: Taken out his Preface to the Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, p. 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94. *are as followeth:*

Queſt. Is there nothing to be done for Diſſenting Proteſtants, who agree with us in all Doctrinal Articles of our Church, and only ſcruple the uſe of a few Ceremonies, and ſome late Impoſitions? Shall theſe Differences ſtill be continued, when they may be ſo eaſily removed, and ſo many uſeful Men encouraged, and taken into the Conſtitution? Do we value a few Indifferent Ceremonies, and ſome late Declarations, and doubtful Expreſſions, beyond the Satisfaction of Mens Conſciences, and the Peace and Stability of this Church?

As to this material Queſtion, I ſhall crave leave to deliver my Opinion freely and impartially; and that,

1. *With*

I. *With respect to the Case of the People; the Terms of whose* Union *with us, is acknowledged by our Brethren to be so much easier than their own. But these are of two sorts:*

1. Some allow the use of the Liturgy, but say they cannot joyn in Communion with us, because the participation of the Sacraments hath such Rites and Ceremonies annexed to it, which they think unlawful; and therefore, till these be removed, or left indifferent, they dare not joyn with us in Baptism, or the Lord's Supper; because in the one the Cross is used, and in the other Kneeling is required. As to these I answer,

(1.) *Upon the most diligent Search I could make into these things, I find no good ground for any scruple of Conscience, as to the use of these Ceremonies; and as little as any as to the Sign of the* Cross, *as it is used in our* Church; *notwithstanding all the noise that hath been made about its being a* New Sacrament, *and I know not what; but of this at large in the following Treatise.*

(2.) *I see no ground for the Peoples Separation from other Acts of Communion, on the account of some Rites they suspect to be unlawful: And especially when the use of such Rites is none of their own Act, as the* Cross *in* Baptism *is not; and when such an Explication is annexed concerning the intention of* Kneeling at the Lord's Supper, *as is in the* Rubrick *after the* Communion.

(3.) *Notwithstanding, because the use of* Sacraments *in a* Christian Church, *ought to be the most free from all Exceptions, and they ought to be so Administred, as rather to invite than discourage scrupulous Persons from joyning with them: I do think it would be a part of Christian Wisdom and Condescention in the Governours of our Church, to remove those Bars from a freedom in joyning in full Communion with us. Which may be done, either by wholly taking away the* Sign of the Cross; *or if that may give offence to others, by confining the use of it to the publick Administration of* Baptism, *or by leaving it indifferent, as the Parents desire it. As to* Kneeling at the Lord's Supper, *since some Posture is necessary, and many Devout People scruple any other, and the* Primitive Church *did in Ancient times receive it in the Posture of Adoration, there is no reason to take this away, even in Parochial Churches; provided, that those who scruple* Kneeling, *do receive it with the least Offence to others, and rather*

Standing than Sitting, because the former is most agreeable to the practice of Antiquity, and of our Neighbour-Reformed Churches. As to the Surplice *in* Parochial Churches, *it is not of that consequence as to bear a Dispute one way or other; and as to* Cathedral Churches, *there is no necessity of Alteration. But there is another thing which seems to be of late much scrupled in* Baptism, *viz.* The use of God-fathers and God-mothers Excluding the Parents. *Although I do not question, but the Practice of our Church may be justified, (as I have done it towards the end of the following Treatise) yet I see no necessity of adhering so strictly to the* Cannon *herein, but that a little Alteration may prevent these Scruples, either by permitting the Parents to joyn with the Sponsors; or by the Parents publickly desiring the Sponsors to represent them in offering the Child to* Baptism; *or which seems most agreeable to Reason, that the Parents offer the Child to* Baptism, *and then the Sponsors perform the Covenanting part, representing the Child; and the Charge after* Baptism *be given in common to the Parents and Sponsors.*

These things being allowed, I see no obstruction remaining, as to a full Union *of the Body of such Dissenters with us, in all Acts of Divine Worship, and* Christian Communion, *as do not reject all* Communion *with us unlawful.*

2. *But because there are many of those who are become zealous Protestants,* and plead much their Communion with us in Faith and Doctrine, although they cannot joyn with us in Worship, because they deny the Lawfulness of Liturgies, and the right Constitution of our Churches; *Their case deserves some consideration, whether, and how far they are capable of being made serviceable to the common Interest, and to the support of the Protestant Religion among us.*

To their Case *I answer,*

First, That a general unlimited Toleration to Dissenting Protestants, *will soon bring* Confusion *among us, and in the end* Popery, *as I have shewed already; and a Suspension of all the Penal Laws that relate to Dissenters is the same thing with a* boundless Toleration.

Secondly, If any present Favours be granted to such, in consideration of our Circumstances, and to prevent their Conjunction with the Papists, *for a general* Toleration, *(for if ever the* Papists *obtain it, it must be under their Name.) If, I say, such Favours be thought fit to be shewed them, it ought to be with such Restrictions*

and

and Limitations, as may prevent the Miſchief which may eaſily follow upon it: For all ſuch Meetings are a perpetual Reproach to our Churches, by their declaring, That our Churches are no true Churches; that our manner of Worſhip is unlawful; and that our Church-Government is Antichriſtian; and that on theſe accounts they ſeparate from us, and Worſhip God by themſelves. *But if ſuch an* Indulgence *be thought fit to be granted, I humbly offer theſe things to Conſideration.*

1. *That none be permitted to enjoy the priviledge of it, who do not declare,* That they do hold Communion with our Churches to be Unlawful. *For it ſeems unreaſonable to allow it to others, and will give Countenance to endleſs and cauſeleſs Separations.*

2. *That all who enjoy it, beſides taking the* Teſt *againſt* Popery, *do ſubſcribe the* Thirty Six Articles *of our Faith, becauſe the pretence of this Liberty, is joyning with us in* Points *of* Faith; *and this may more probably prevent* Papiſts *getting in amongſt them.*

3. *That all ſuch as enjoy it, muſt declare the particular Congregations they are of, and enter their Names before ſuch* Commiſſioners *as ſhall be Authorized for that purpoſe; that ſo this may be no pretence for Idle, Looſe, and Prophane Perſons, never going to any Church at all.*

4. *That both Preachers and Congregations be liable to ſevere Penalties, if they uſe any bitter or reproachful words, either in Sermons or Writings, againſt the Eſtabliſhed Conſtitution of our Churches; becauſe they deſire only the freedom of their own Conſciences; and the uſing this Liberty, will diſcover it is not Conſcience, but a turbulent factious Humour, which makes them ſeparate from our Communion.*

5. *That all indulged Perſons be particularly obliged to pay all legal Duties to the Parochial Churches, (leſt meer Covetouſneſs tempt Men to run among them) and no Perſons ſo indulged, be capable of any Publick Office. It not being reaſonable that ſuch ſhould be truſted with Government, who look upon the Worſhip Eſtabliſhed by Law as Unlawful.*

6. *That no other Penalty be laid on ſuch indulged Perſons, but that of* Twelve Pence *a* Sunday *for their abſence from their* Parochial Churches, *which ought to be duly Collected for the Uſe of the Poor, and cannot be complained of as any heavy Burthen, conſidering the Liberty they do enjoy by it.*

7. *That the* Bishops, *as* Visitors *appointed by Law, have an exact Account given to them, of the Rule of their* Worship *and* Discipline, *and of all the Persons belonging to the indulged Congregations, with their Qualities and Places of Abode; and that none be admitted a Member of any such Congregation without acquainting their* Visitor *with it, that so means may be used to prevent their leaving our* Communion, *by giving satisfaction to their scruples. This Power of the* Bishops *cannot be scrupled by them, since herein they are considered as* Commissioners *appointed by Law.*

8. *That no indulged Persons presume under severe Penalties to breed up* Scholars, *or to teach Gentlemens Sons* University-Learning; *because this may be justly looked on as a design to propagate* Schism *to* Posterity, *and to lay a* Foundation *for the disturbance of* future Generations.

II. *As to the* Case *of the* Ejected Ministers, *I have these things to offer:*

1. *That bare* Subscription *of the* Thirty Six Articles *concerning* Doctrinal Points, *be not allowed as sufficient to qualifie any Man for a* Living, *or any* Church-preferment, *for these Reasons.*

First, *Any* Lay-man *upon these Terms may not only be capable of a* Living, *but may take upon him to* Administer the Sacraments; *which was never allowed in any well-constituted* Church *in the* Christian World. *And such an allowance among us, instead of setling and uniting us, will immediately bring things into great* Confusion, *and give mighty Advantage to the* Papists *against our* Church. *And we have reason to fear, a Design of this Nature, under a pretence of* Union of Protestants, *tends to the Subversion of this* Church, *and throwing all things into* Confusion, *which at last will end in* Popery.

Secondly, *This will bring a* Faction *into the* Church, *which will more endanger it than External Opposition. For such Men will come in Triumphantly, having beaten down* Three *of the* Thirty Nine Articles; *and being in Legal Possession of their Places, will be ready to defie and contemn those who submitted to the rest, and to glory in their Conquests, and draw followers after them, as the Victorious Confessors against* Prelacy *and* Ceremonies. *And can they imagine those of the* Church *of* England *will see the Reputation of the* Church, *or their* own, *to suffer so much, and not appear in their own* Vindication? *Things are not come to that*

pass,

paſs, nor will they ſuddenly be, that the Friends *of the* Church *of* England *will be either afraid, or aſhamed to own her Cauſe. We do heartily and ſincerely deſire* Union *with our Brethren, if it may be had on juſt and reaſonable Terms; but they muſt not think, that we will give up the* Cauſe of the Church *for it, ſo as to condemn its* Conſtitution, *or make the* Ceremonies unlawful, *which have been hitherto obſerved and practiſed in it. If any Expedient can be found out for the eaſe of other Mens Conſciences, without reflecting on our own; if they can be taken in without reproach or diſhonour to the* Reformation *of the* Church, *I hope no true Son of the* Church *of* England *will oppoſe it. But if the Deſign be to bring them in as a* Faction, *to bridle and controul the* Epiſcopal Power, *by ſetting up* Forty Biſhops *in a Dioceſs againſt* One; *if it be for them to trample upon the* Church *of* England, *and not ſubmit to its* Order *and* Government *upon fair and moderate Terms, let them not call this a Deſign of* Union, *but the giving Law to a Party to oppoſe the* Church *of* England. *And what the ſucceſs of this will be, let wiſe Men judge.*

Thirdly, *If a* Subſcription *to* Thirty Six Articles *were ſufficient by the Statute* 13 Eliz. c. 12. *I do not underſtand how by vertue of that Statute a Man is bound publickly to read the* Thirty Nine Articles in the Church, and the Teſtimonial of his Subſcription, on pain of being deprived *ipſo facto*, if he do not. *For the L. Ch. J.* Coke *ſaith*, That Subſcription to the 39 Articles are required by force of the Act of Parliament, 13 *Eliz.* c. 12. *And he adds*, That the Delinquent is diſabled and deprived *ipſo facto*; and that a conditional Subſcription to them was not ſufficient, was reſolv'd by all the Judges in *England. But how a Man ſhould be deprived* ipſo facto *for not Subſcribing, and Reading the* 39 *Articles, as appears by the Caſes mentioned in* Coke, *and yet be required only to ſubſcribe to* 36, *by the ſame* Statute, *is a thing too hard for me to conceive.* Co. *Inſt.* 4. *Part* 323, 324.

2. *But notwithſtanding this, if any temper can be found out, as to the manner of* Subſcription, *that may give eaſe to the* Scruples *of our Brethren, and ſecure the* Peace *of the* Church, *the deſired* Union *may be attained without that apparent Danger of increaſing the Factions among us.*

And this I ſuppoſe may be done, by an abſolute Subſcription to all thoſe Articles *which concern* the Doctrine of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Uſe of the Sacraments; *and a* ſolemn

Promiſe

Promiſe under their hand, or Subſcription of peaceable Submiſſion; *as to the reſt, ſo as not to oppoſe or contradict them, either in Preaching or Writing; upon the ſame Penalty, as if they had not ſubſcribed to the* 36. *Which may be a more probable means to keep the* Church *in quiet, than forcing a more rigorous* Subſcription *upon them, or leaving them at their full liberty.*

3. *As to the other* Subſcription *required,* 1 Jac. *to the* 3 Articles. *The firſt is provided for by* the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. *The third is the ſame with the* Subſcription *to the* 39 Articles. *And as to the Second,* about the Book of Common Prayer, &c. *It ought to be conſidered,*

(1.) *Whether, for the ſatisfaction of the Scrupulous, ſome more doubtful and obſcure paſſages may not yet be explained or amended? Whether the* New Tranſlation *of the* Pſalms *were not fitter to be uſed, at leaſt in* Parochial Churches? *Whether* Portions *of* Canonical Scripture *were not better put inſtead of* Apocrypha *Leſſons? Whether the* Rubrick *about* Salvation *of* Infants, *might not be reſtored to its former place, in the* Office *of* Confirmation, *and ſo the preſent Exceptions againſt it be removed? Whether thoſe Expreſſions which ſuppoſe the ſtrict Exerciſe of* Diſcipline, *in* Burying the Dead, *were not better left at liberty in our preſent Caſe? Such a Review made by* Wiſe *and* Peaceable Men, *not given to* Wrath *and* Diſputing, *may be ſo far from being a diſhonour to this* Church, *that it may add to the Glory of it.*

(2.) *Upon ſuch a* Review, *whether it be not great* Reaſon *that all Perſons who Officiate in the Church, be not only tied to a conſtant* Uſe *of it in* all publick Offices, *(as often as they adminiſter them) which they ought in Perſon frequently to do; but to declare at their firſt entrance upon a* Parochial Charge, *their* Approbation *of the* Uſe *of it, after their own* Reading *of it, that ſo the People may not ſuſpect them to carry on a Factious Deſign, under an outward pretence of* Conformity *to the* Rules *of the* Church *they live in.*

(3.) *Whether ſuch a ſolemn* Uſing *the* Liturgy, *and* Approbation *and* Promiſe *of the* Uſe *of it, may not be ſufficient, inſtead of the late* Form *of declaring their* Aſſent, *and* Conſent, *which hath been ſo much ſcrupled by our Brethren?*

Theſe are all the things which appear to me reaſonable to be allowed in order to an Union, *and which I ſuppoſe may be granted without detriment or diſhonour to our* Church. *There are other things*

things very desirable towards the happiness *and* flourishing *of this* Church; *as the exercise of* Discipline *in* Parochial Churches, *in a due subordination to the* Bishop; *the* Reforming *the* Ecclesiastical Courts *as to* Excommunication, *without prejudice to the excellent Profession of the* Civil Law; *the Building of more* Churches *in great* Parishes, *especially about the* City *of* London; *the retrenching* Pluralities; *the strictness and solemnity of* Ordinations; *the making a* Book *of* Canons *suitable to this Age, for the better Regulating the* Conversations *of the* Clergy. *Such things as these, might facilitate our* Union, *and make our Church in spight of all its Enemies become a* Praise in the whole Earth.

But with what Ingenuity were these Concessions received? They were thrown back in their faces with a sibi & suis, *let them keep them to themselves; froward Children once gotten into a peevish Humour, though they crave many things, and their indulgent Parent grants them all that they crave, yet will they not be quieted with any thing; and the longer they have been thus indulged, the more pettish they grow: and it often comes to pass, that such as endeavour to reconcile such Children to their Parents, are lookt on as their Enemies; which is the common Fate of all Arbitrators, who though they be indifferently chosen by the contending Parties, and do with their utmost Discretion and Moderation, agree in an impartial Determination, in hope to please both Parties, yet are they sure to displease one, if not both; yet better it is so to do, than to permit them incessantly to vex one another by their unreasonable and perpetual Contentions.*

But I hope that those severe Corrections which we ourselves occasioned to each other, have abated this petulant Humour, and beaten us into better Manners, and taught us more Discretion; or at least, that the sence which we all lately had, and the prospect which we still have before us, of being utterly undone, and of losing those inestimable Substances of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, while we contend only about Shadows, have reduced all Parties to more peaceable Inclinations; and that having agreed to refer the Matters in difference to equal Arbitrators, by our own choice, who have also agreed on such an Umpire as hath a tender Concern for the Satisfaction and Welfare of us all, we will with humble and hearty Submission, acquiesce in their Determination— Wherefore if it shall please our Legislators, by the Methods proposed, or any other, which to them, by the assistance of a Convocation,

shall

ſhall ſeem convenient, to give eaſe to Tender Conſciences, I am perſwaded that the Miniſters of the Church would readily and gladly embrace ſuch as ſhall Conform, and give them the right hand of Fellowſhip. And I hope, that although ſome men have formerly, when they had Toleration and Indulgences granted them (not for their ſake, ſo much as for the Deſtruction of the Church, (as I hope they now perceive) and by the Mediation, and for the Advantage of Popery) rejected ſuch Propoſals with a kind of Scorn, yet now at length, after all the Hazards that by GOD's *great Mercy we have eſcaped, all ſuch perſons as have any Moderation and peaceable Principles, or any Sence of the Danger wherein the Proteſtant Cauſe now ſtands, will heartily joyn in the Communion of the Church, to increaſe her Numbers and ſtrengthen her Hands, that ſo, under the Conduct of our Religious and Auſpicious Soveraigns, ſhe may ſtill ſtand as an Impregnable Bulwork, againſt all the Attempts of our Implacable Enemies, and a Terrour to all that bear evil will to* Sion.

I ſhall only add the Advice of the Lord Bacon, That when many good Laws are made, there will need one great one more for the putting of thoſe in Execution.

The following Treatiſe was penned ſome Years ſince, when it was not thought ſo ſafe to Print it, as it may be ſeaſonable now, to inform the Reader of the Moderation of the Church of England, *and to perſwade to a Union with it.*

THE

THE CASE of PERSECUTION, Charg'd on the Church of England, Conſider'd and Diſcharg'd, &c.

AFTER the many frivolous and falſe Accuſations charged on the Eſtabliſhed Church, *(viz.)* of Superſtition and Popery, by *Fanaticks*, and of Schiſm and Hereſy, by the *Papiſts*, the oppoſite Factions did agree to charge her with the horrible Crime of Perſecution: A Calumny ſo vehemently imputed, that they doubt not but it will faſten on her, and make ignorant, credulous and prejudiced perſons believe, that ſhe is as guilty as St. *Paul* was thought to be, when the Viper which aroſe out of the fire at *Melita*, faſtned on his hand, which made the Inhabitants conclude, that he was a Murtherer, *Acts* 28. 3.

But if we have the patience to look on a while, we ſhall ſee it fall off, without doing her any harm, and we may hope, that the impartial Reader will pronounce her not guilty; for though many Witneſſes joyn in the general Accuſation, yet if they are particularly and ſeverally examined, they will confute each other; for if the Proteſtant Diſſenters be asked, whether the Church of *England* hath perſecuted the Papiſts, they are ready to anſwer *No*; but ſhe hath complied with them much more than they themſelves would have done. And if the Papiſts be asked, whe-

ther the Church of *England* have dealt too ſeverely with the other Diſſenting Factions, they will anſwer *No*; but they have been more indulgent to them, than any of their Perſwaſion, in the like circumſtance with the Church of *England*, would have done. And the Church may Appeal to any of her Accuſers, whether if they had power over her, they would not deal more ſeverely with her, then ever ſhe dealt with them.

And evident it is, that the Church hath always been on the ſuffering ſide, the diſagreeing Factions ſtill ſtrugling for the Pre eminence over the Church, as well as over each other; ſo that the Church hath been ſtill grinded by the two oppoſite Factions, as between two Mill-ſtones, the one being ſometime uppermoſt and ſometime the other, but both of them conſpiring and acting for her Deſtruction; though now they cry out of a Perſecution only becauſe they cannot perſecute as when they were in power, for I doubt not but our Diſſenters will acknowledge, that when the Papiſts were in power, as in the *Marian* days, their little finger was heavier then the Churches loines: And if the Sectaries had been ſetled, the Papiſts would not have had more gentle Lords; and though they agree ſcarce in any thing elſe, yet as St. *Auguſtine* on *Pſal.* 36. obſerves, *Tunc inter ſe concordant mali cum in perniciem juſti conſpirant non quia ſe invicem amant ſed quia eum qui amandus erat mutuo oderept.* Juſtly therefore might the Church complain as *Eraſmus* did in an Epiſtle to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Triplex ſuſtineo certamen, &c.* I undergo a threefold Conflict, Firſt againſt thoſe *Pagan Romaniſts* which wretchedly envy me; ſecondly, with ſome Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Monks who move every ſtone to deſtroy me; thirdly, with ſuch implacable Sectaries as think they can never riſe but by my Ruine.

But through the ſingular providence of God, which hath often and wonderfully appeared for her preſervation againſt many ſecrert Plots and open Aſſaults of her Enemies, ſhe may ſay as the *Pſalmiſt*, *Pſal.* 124. 2, 3. *If it had not been the Lord who was on our ſide, when men roſe up againſt us, they had ſwallowed us quick, when their wrath was kindled againſt us.* And as *Pſal.* 129. 2. *Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, yet have they not prevailed againſt me.*

I ſhall not now inſiſt on the ſeveral Accuſations charged on the Church, reſerving them for a Second Part, wherein I ſhall Hiſtorically conſider matters of Fact, onely take a taſte how bitter they are in theſe Expreſſions: Father *Parſons*, ſpeaking of the Government of Queen *Elizabeth*, ſaith, *Where are now the old Tyrants*, Nero, Decius, Diocleſian, Maxentius, *and other Perſecutors of the Chriſtians? Where are* Genſerik *and* Hunricus, *with the* Arian *Hereticks?* As if that moderate Queen had been a greater Perſecutor than any of them. *No ſooner was Queen* Elizabeth *come to the Crown*, (ſaith another) *and ſetled the Church of* England, *but ſhe enacted thoſe bloudy Laws to Hang, Draw, and Quarter the Prieſts of the Living God. And I defie any man* (ſaith another) *to inſtance a greater Perſecution, than that of Proteſtants againſt Catholicks.* Thus the Papiſts.

And the other Accuſers are not leſs ſharp; our Government decried as Popiſh and Antichriſtian, and our Liturgy as the Maſs, our Biſhops as Wolves and Tyrants, Thorns and Thiſtles, and Military Inſtruments of the Devil, our Laws taring Engines, the Clergy are repreſented as a company of lying, perjured, and perſecuting Villains: And hence the Land is filled with thoſe loud *Celeuſmata's*, which ſummons all hands to pull down the Church, and lay it even with the ground; and pitty it is, but that Church which is ſo great a *Canibal*, were ſo dealt with.

I ſhall therefore enquire, Firſt, What Perſecution is. And,

Secondly, Whether the Church of *England* is guilty of Perſecution.

And by the Church I mean, in a ſtrict ſence, the Clergy of *England*, againſt whom, I ſuppoſe, the Objection is intended, and not the whole Body of the Nation. Firſt, then,

Perſecution is a malicious Vexation, and puniſhing of Men for Righteouſneſs ſake; for it is only they that live Godly in Chriſt Jeſus, that ſuffer Perſecution: for as *Lactantius de Mortibus Perſecutorum* (ſaith), *Quis niſi malus juſtitiam perſequitur?* As none but a wicked Man perſecutes the

Righteous, ſo none but the Righteous do ſuffer Perſecution. To this purpoſe ſpeaks St. *Peter*, Epiſt. 1. ch. 4. v. 15. *Let none of you ſuffer as a murtherer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a buſy-body in other mens matters:* For if any be juſtly puniſhed for his Faults, it is correction and not perſecution; it is the cauſe not the ſuffering that intitles men to Martyrdom and Perſecution: *For what glory is it*, ſaith St. *Peter, if when ye are buffeted for your faults, ye ſhall take it patiently? but if when ye do well, and ſuffer for it, ye take it patiently; this is acceptable with God*, 1 Pet. 2. 20. By theſe two qualifications, the Complainers may judge of themſelves; or becauſe every man is apt to be partial in his own caſe, others may judge of them, whether they are truly perſecuted or not; for if they have been puniſhed for diſobeying any Law of God, or of the King, that is not contrary to the Law of God, in which caſe the Law of God obligeth them to obey the King, not only for fear of wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake; this is not to ſuffer for well doing, and therefore cannot be called Perſecution: Wherefore it hath been well obſerved, that before the Bleſſing pronounced to thoſe that are perſecuted, our Saviour (doth not only add for Righteouſneſs ſake, but) prefixeth thoſe other qualifications of being *poor in ſpirit*, of *mourning and meekneſs*, of *hungring and thirſting after righteouſneſs*, of *mercifulneſs and purity in heart, and peace-making*; and to ſuch only belongs the Bleſſing: Matth. 5. 12. *Great is your reward in heaven.* But to ſuffer as Buſy-bodies in other mens matters, againſt Laws well eſtabliſhed for Decency and Order, according to the Apoſtles Injunction, to draw down and provoke the wrath of our Superiours on our heads, for Diſobedience to ſuch things, as they have authority by the Laws of God and Men to injoyn, this is not to ſuffer for Righteouſneſs.

And for what cauſe ſoever it be that a man ſuffers, he ought by the next qualification to take it patiently, *(i. e.)* not to murmur or repine, not to reſiſt and ſeek revenge, or endeavour by any unlawful means to transfer the Croſs from himſelf to others, but as the Primitive Chriſtians, receive the ſentence even of Death with a *Deo gratias*, bleſſing God who hath counted them worthy to ſuffer for his

ſake,

ſake, and given them Grace not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer for the Name of Chriſt: For thus Chriſt ſuffered for us, leaving us an example that we ſhould follow his ſteps, *who did no ſin*, (there is the firſt qualification, and the ſecond followeth) *who when he was reviled, reviled not again, when he ſuffered he threatned not, but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly*, 1 Pet. 2. 21, *&c.* This is to be made conformable to Chriſt in his paſſion, and to ſuffer as a Chriſtian, bleſſing them that curſe us, doing good to them that hate us, praying for them that perſecute us, which as none but the Chriſtian Religion teacheth, ſo none but ſuch as practice it, are truly Chriſtians, *Matth.* 5. 44. And thus doth *Lactantius* obſerve of the Chriſtians in his days, whoſe Sufferings he deſcribes to be extreamly cruel and ſharp, yet *Ne verbo quidem reluctamur ſed deo remittimus ultionem.* And St. *Ambroſe*, *Lædentibus non iraſcimur ſpoliantibus non reſiſtimus cædentibus non repugnamus.*

Now if we compare either the matter or manner of the Sufferings of thoſe Primitive Chriſtians, with the Afflictions and Patience of our Modern Sects, we ſhall find theſe to be more like pettiſh and froward Children, who fancy Bugbears to themſelves, and by groundleſs fears and crying, diſquiet themſelves and others, then like thoſe Heroick Chriſtians that indured the moſt exquiſite Torments with invincible patience, praying for their Perſecutors: The *Stoicks* behaved themſelves with a much more imitable fortitude; *Tormenta a me abeſſe velim ſed ſi ſuſtinenda fuerint, ut me fortiter animoſe honeſte geram optabo.*

And thus *Seneca*, *Placebit ei ignis per quem fides collucebit*; He would rather embrace the Fire, than betray his Fidelity. Whereas our Complainers do by intolerable provocations draw down puniſhments on themſelves, and inſtead of induring them with a Chriſtian patience, ſeek to avenge themſelves on the Inflictors: How unreaſonable the Complaints of ſuch men are, will appear, if we conſider firſt, what their Sufferings have been, as to the matter and cauſes of them: *Nulli dictum eſt nega Deum incende Teſtamentum Idolis Sacrifica*; It was never ſaid to any of them,

Deny

Deny your God, or dye by the hands of an Executioner; burn your Bibles, or we will burn you; Sacrifice to our Idols, or we will Sacrifice you; *Sola fuerunt ad pacem hortamenta ut Deus & Christus ejus in unitate coleretur*, (as St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaks of the *Donatiſts*,) They were only exhorted to Worſhip God and his Son Jeſus Chriſt in a peaceable Communion with their Chriſtian Brethren, and to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace; wherefore he adviſed them to conſider, *Prius quid fecerint deinde quod patiuntur*; Firſt what they had done, and then what they did ſuffer. So ſhall I deſire thoſe that think themſelves grieved, to conſider by what actions and provocations of theirs, the Penal Laws that are now in force, were procured; for, *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges*, it was the ſeditious practices of ungovernable Men, that gave birth to thoſe Statutes, which as the *Preamble* to thoſe that were made in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* declares, were made to retain her Majeſty's Subjects in due Obedience.

That there is a neceſſity of ſome Penal Laws for the reſtraint of Evil-doers, is the mature judgment of all Mankind, for without ſuch, every Government would ſoon run into confuſion; and therefore every of the complaining Parties, have made ſuch Laws, and inforced them with more ſevere Sanctions, than thoſe againſt whom they complain.

That the making of ſuch Laws belongs to the Supreme Magiſtrate, according to the National Conſtitution, is alſo unqueſtionable; and it would be ridiculous, and bring Authority to contempt, to make them and not execute them upon ſuch as render themſelves obnoxious by their diſorderly behaviour.

St. *Auguſtine* in his 48th *Epiſtle* ſays, *That it was once his judgment, that there was no need of Coercive Laws in matters of Religion, leſt we ſhould have diſſembling Catholicks inſtead of open Hereticks:* And therefore he thought that none ſhould be compelled to the Unity of Chriſt; but on ſecond thoughts, he altered his opinion, and wrote a Tract, *de Correctione Donatiſtarum*, which is extant among his *Retractations*, l. 2. wherein he aſſerts the neceſ-

neceſſity of Penal Laws, which he grounds on his own experience, inſtancing in the City of *Hippo*, whereof he was Biſhop, which notwithſtanding all his Learning and Endeavours, was over-run by the *Donatiſts*, which ſet up ſeparate Congregations, but by the execution of ſome Penal Laws, was ſo reduced to Unity, as if there had never been any Schiſm among them; for as he obſerves, they being firſt awed by fear, were afterward convinced by truth, which they could not hear from their *falſe Teachers*.

And in his 48th *Epiſtle*, he appeals to them, *Quis noſtram non laudat leges ab Imperatoribus adverſus Pagana Sacrificia, illius quippe impietatis Capitale ſupplicium eſt?* (i. e.) Who of us doth not commend the Imperial Edicts againſt Heatheniſh Sacrifices, although the puniſhment be capital? And in his 50th *Epiſtle* he affirms, the Laws of the Emperours againſt thoſe *Donatiſts*, were a greater act of Charity to their Souls and Bodies, as well as Piety towards God, than the Indulgence of *Julian*, which was ſuch an occaſion of Impiety and Cruelty, as had almoſt deſtroyed Chriſtianity, by permitting Diviſions among them; wherefore he deſires them to conſider, *Quid potius eligatis utrum correcti vivere in pace an in malitia perſeverantes falſi martyris nomine vera ſupplicia ſuſtinere contra Petil.* l. 2. which were moſt eligible, either by correction to live in peace, or to perſevere in malice, and draw juſt puniſhments on themſelves, being deceived with a falſe opinion of Martyrdom and Perſecution: For as he truly ſays, *Non perſequitur phreneticum Medicus ſed phreneticus medicum*; When men that are diſeaſed, grow frantick and ſo ungovernable, that they ſeek to infect and abuſe others, they that bind them to a better behaviour, do the office of a Phyſitian, not a Perſecutor; and ſo the *Donatiſts* did rather perſecute the Laws, than the Laws them: *Leges puniendo non poſſunt quod ipſi ſæviendo potuerunt*, Epiſt. 170.

Nor can any reaſon be given why ſuch Laws and Penalties ſhould not extend to ſuch as live in the Communion of the Church, or ſeparating from it, pretend Conſcience for their Diſobedience; for then all ſorts of Wickedneſs might go unpuniſhed, ſeeing that ſome men have pleaded Conſcience as a pretext for the greateſt Villa-

nies.

nies. Now seeing it pleased the Supreme Authority of the Nation, having had long experience of the Loyalty and peaceableness of such as lived in Communion with the Established Church, to make the Conformity of the Subjects to the publick Doctrine and Worship a Test of their Obedience and Loyalty to the King; and having also observed, by many Years experience, that such as moved Sedition in the State, had first raised Division in, or made Separation from the Church, it pleased them to enact several Laws and Sanctions for an Uniformity in the Worship of God, as a means to preserve the publick peace of the State; which Laws being the *Senatus consulta*, the effects of the Supreme Authority in Parliament, wherein every Subject by himself, or his Representative, is supposed to have his Vote, they cannot be accounted the Constitutions of the Church, any more than the *Plebiscita*, or the Agreement of the People confirmed by the King, on the Advice and Counsel of his Parliament, and those Laws, which on such solemn deliberation and general consent were established, cannot rationally be annulled as long as the causes which made the enacting of them necessary are continued; And doubtless, as the Papists will acknowledge the necessity of them to suppress Heresies and Schisms, seeing there is no Nation where their Religion is established, where there are not more severe Laws and Sanctions made to suppress such Mischiefs, so all other Dissenters will approve of the execution of them, if they are constant to their own principles for the keeping out of Popery; and it will be an indelible Reproach to them all, who have professed a greater detestation of Popery than the Church of *England*, which they have slandered and opposed as if they had too far complied with the Papists, if they should at last confederate with them to take off those Laws which they unanimously consented to as a means to keep out Popery; especially it being evident to all considering persons, that when these Laws are abrogated, those Laws by which Popery was formerly established will be in force; and so they who consent to the taking away

the

the one, do conſent to the eſtabliſhing of the other, and ſet up Popery by a Law. See the firſt and ſecond of Queen *Mary*.

But to return to the Vindication of the Church of *England*, from the Imputation of Perſecution, let the Reader conſider, that the Eſtabliſhed Church hath neither any Power, nor any Principle that may incline her to it.

1. It hath never had any Power, the Church being always in its Minority, and the King being her Guardian, ſhe cannot enact any thing for her ſelf; her Courts are the King's Courts, her Convocations are called by the King's Writs; they cannot conſult of any other Matters, but what are propoſed by the King, nor make any Canons, but what are ratified by his Authority, nor execute them, but by his Warrant; and that under theſe Proviſo's, that they be not againſt the King's Prerogative, nor againſt the Common or Statute Laws: And there lieth an Appeal to the Court of Chancery, and the Common Law, which may grant Prohibitions againſt their Proceedings, and hinder the Execution of their Sentences; ſo that neither any Corporal Puniſhment can be inflicted, nor any Fine leavied, but by the Civil Magiſtrate, by whom all Penal Laws are executed; ſo that if there be any cauſe of Complaint, it is to be charged on thoſe Members of Parliament, which themſelves choſe to Vote for them. Nor ought they to complain of what was acted by their own Choice.

And whoſoever will duly conſider the Riſe of thoſe Laws, by which the Complainers have ſuffered the greateſt Penalties, will find, that they were enacted, or procured by the Complainers themſelves; for thoſe Laws by vertue whereof the greateſt Execution hath been done ſince the Reformation, were contrived by the Papiſts; I mean the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, which though ſome are pleaſed to call Proteſtant Oaths, yet were they in being before the Reformation. That

of *Supremacy* was enacted in a full Parliament under King *Henry* the Eighth, and was only a Vindication of the ancient Rights of the Crown from foreign Usurpations; it was defended by divers Learned Men of the *Romish* Perſwaſion, particularly by *Stephen Gardner* Biſhop of *Winchester*.

And ſome great Men loſt their Lives, for defaming or refuſing to take that Oath, *viz.* The Biſhop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*; and if others have ſuffered on the ſame account ſince, the Church of *England* cannot juſtly be accuſed of what was ſo ſolemnly recognized by the Papiſts, *Nec lex eſt juſtior ulla.*

And as to the Oath of *Allegiance*, though it were brought into a form by King *James*, as a Teſt to diſcover ſuch perſons as had often conſpired to take away his Life; yet as to the matter of it, it was to be adminiſtred in all Courts-Leet to the Subjects of the Crown, and was ſo framed, as to turn the Edge of it againſt the Papiſts.

2. The Church of *England* hath no principles that may incline any of her Communion to Perſecuting Practices, for ſhe makes the holy Scriptures the Rule of her Faith and Practice, and Light is not more contrary to Darkneſs, than the Spirit of the Goſpel is to that of Perſecution: When *James* and *John* moved our Saviour to *call for fire from heaven to conſume the Samaritans*, Luke 9. 54. Our Saviour rebuked them, ſaying, *Ye know not what ſpirit ye are of, for the ſon of man is not come to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them*: Of what ſpirit then are they of, who will call for Fire from Hell, if they cannot obtain it from Heaven, it concerns others to conſider. As many as walk by the Rule of the Goſpel, are for Peace and Acts of Mercy. And it's well known, that the Church of *England* ſtrictly injoyns, that nothing be preached by her Miniſters, but what is plainly declared in the Scriptures, or may be clearly deduced from it. The Church teacheth all of her Communion, to pray for all Men, even their Enemies, Perſecutors, and Slan-

Slanderers, and frequently uſeth our Lord's Prayer, which obligeth them to forgive Men *their Treſpaſſes, as they hope to be forgiven of their heavenly Father*: And St. *Paul* aſſures us, *That all our gifts and graces without charity are nothing worth; that charity which ſuffereth long and is kind, which is not puffed up, is not eaſily provoked, thinketh no evil*, 1 Cor. 13. by which Rule all Chriſtians ought to walk. Here the Counſel of *Optatus* is ſeaſonable, *Si veſtros videri Martyres vultis probate amaſſe pacem in qua prima ſunt Martyris fundamenta aut dilexiſſe deo placidam unitatem, aut habuiſſe cum fratribus charitatem ſine qua maxima & imperioſa virtus caret effectu*, p. 72. If our Church did lay claim to an infallible Spirit, and enforce her new Decrees on the Conſciences of Men, under the pain of an *Anathema*, on all that ſhould not receive them with the like ſubmiſſion, as they do to the Oracles of God? Did ſhe exact a blind Obedience, and an implicite Faith to her Ordinances, with a *Non-obſtante* to the Inſtitutions of Chriſt; or if ſhe did pronounce all Hereticks that refuſe to hold Communion with her, and teach that no Faith is to be kept with ſuch Hereticks? Did ſhe account Men Hereticks for keeping and reading their Bibles, and Books of Piety and Devotion, or ſet up an Inquiſition to Impriſon, Torment, and put to Death Men and Women, for their diſſent from it in ſuch Opinions? Did it puniſh Men becauſe they believe their Senſes, and will not fall down and Worſhip a piece of Bread, and give Divine Honour to the Works of Mens hands, and Worſhip the Creature more, (or beſides) the Creator, *Rom.* 1. 25.

Did it approve or allow the depoſing Doctrine, and approve of Rebellion and Reſiſtance, and Maſſacring thouſands of innocent perſons for its Advantage and Grandure, which ſome of the Complainers of both Parties have contended for, and practiſed? Or, did it teach that Dominion is founded in Grace, that wicked Men have no Right to what they enjoy, but it belongs to the Saints to poſſeſs the Earth, and to bind Kings in

Chains, *&c*? Did it erect *Imperium in imperio*, an Empire independent and paramount to that of the Prince, in whose Dominions they live, as too many of the Complainers do affirm? Then might the charge of Perſecution be juſtly pleaded againſt her; but ſhe utterly deteſts and abhors all ſuch Doctrines, and both teacheth and practiſeth the contrary.

The Weapons of her Warfare are not Carnal, but Spiritual* Prayers and Tears, Patience and Forbearance, Exhortations, and Admonitions, which are not for Deſtruction, but for Edification.

There is one ſort of Perſecution, and but one that I know of, that the Complainers have cauſe to accuſe her of, and that is, not of the *Sword*, but the *Pen*; her cogent Reaſons, and ſharp Arguments which have been preſt and enforced againſt her Adverſaries by the Sons of the Church, in Vindication of their deareſt Mother; (and happy is ſhe, for ſhe hath her Quiver ſo full of them, that ſhe is not aſhamed to meet her Enemy in the Gates) theſe have done very conſiderable Execution, being ſo rightly aimed, ſo ſharp headed, and driven home, that they could neither fly from, nor reſiſt the force of them, but have been beaten from one Refuge to another, ſtript of all the Armour wherein they truſted, left naked, and ſo defenceleſs, that all the broken Forces which her Adverſaries, either Papiſts or Diſſenters can Rally, have little left, but to complain of a Perſecution.

But as they have not felt, ſo neither have they cauſe to fear a Perſecution from the Church of *England*, if they farther conſider, how compaſſionately and charitably they have been always diſpoſed for the Relief and Comfort of ſuch afflicted Proteſtants abroad, which differ from her as much or more than the Proteſtant Diſſenters of our own Nation; Witneſs the great ſums of Money that have been Collected in our Aſſemblies, for the diſtreſſed Inhabitants of the *Palatinate* and *Hungary*, of *Peidmont* and *Lucerne*, and the liberal Contributions for

Re-

Redemption of Captives, without reſpect of Perſons; their great Hoſpitality to ſuch as fled to her Boſom, being driven from their own Habitations Naked and Deſtitute, meerly for Conſcience ſake, being otherwiſe very Loyal and Peaceable Subjects. And if the Church Eſtabliſhed have not been forgetful to entertain Strangers, and relieve the Oppreſſed abroad, who can ſuppoſe them forward to perſecute their Diſſenting Brethren at home, who are of the ſame *Houſhold of Faith*, to whom they are eſpecially commanded to *do good*, Gal. 6. 10.

Again, the Penal Laws which are now in force, were for the moſt part enacted by the States of the Nation, long before the preſent Clergy had their Being, *viz.* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and therefore cannot be juſtly imputed to the preſent Generation; nor hath any rigorous Execution of them been enforced by the importunity of the Eſtabliſhed Clergy: That Wind that brought the Storm over the Heads of the Complainers, did not blow from *Canterbury* or *York*, but from *Rome* or *Scotland*. The loud Clamours of our Diſſenters againſt the Toleration of Papiſts, and the ſecret Whiſpers of the Papiſts againſt *Indulgence* to the other Sectaries, and the intolerable Miſdemeanours of both, did awaken thoſe dormant Laws, and neceſſitate the Execution of them, to prevent ſuch another Deluge as had overflown the Nation with Confuſion for almoſt twenty years together.

And it hath been truly obſerved, that ſuch as have been moſt earneſt to revive the Execution of thoſe Laws, were no great Friends to the Eſtabliſhed Church; ſometime a prevailing party of Presbyterians exaſperating them againſt the Papiſts, and ſometime a powerful party of Papiſts ſharpening them againſt the Presbyterians and Sectaries, to incenſe both Parties againſt the Eſtabliſhed Church; as it hath too truly fallen out, the Odium of what hath been procured by the oppoſite Factions, being now by them joyntly thrown upon

on the Church, many of whose Ministers have been reviled for their Moderation by the name of *Trimmers*.

Hagar and her Son *Ishmael*, were severely dealt with by *Sarah*, and did suffer much more than what some Men do now call Persecution; and yet the Apostle accounts that *Ishmael* was the Persecutor for his mocking of *Isaac*, who was the Son of a Prince, and Heir of the Family.

And the Apostle tells us, That there are cruel Mockings, as well as cruel Stripes and Imprisonments. And moreover, that there was an Allegory in these Transactions by *Sarah*, and her Son *Jerusalem*, or the Church of Christ is represented; and then by *Ishmael* all those cruel Mockers and Despisers of that Church, and its Fathers and Family, who scoft at them as Antichristian, dumb Dogs, or Priests of *Baal*, and would once and again cast them out of the Family of God on Earth, and in Heaven too, are certainly meant, and to be noted for the Persecutors, though they first cry out of Persecution, as it is usual for those that are most guilty to complain first.

But if any of the Clergy which had for their Loyalty to the Royal Martyr, suffered the loss of all manner of Subsistance for themselves and their Families for almost twenty Years together, were willing that some such Laws might be enacted, as might prevent the like Mischiefs for the future; I only ask, If any of the Complainers had been under the like Circumstances, would they not have endeavoured the same? And if so, what cause have they to condemn others, for what they would allow in themselves? *Quod ab aliis vobis provocantibus factum est nobis non debet imputari.*

And I can with some Confidence assert, That many Members of the Church of *England* suffered more for obeying the King and his Laws, than the Complainers have for their Disobedience. And the Church

Church of *England* hath ſuffered more for their Kindneſs to the Papiſts, than ever the Papiſts ſuffered by any unkindeſs from that Church. And many of the Clergy were like to ſuffer much for their Moderation to the Diſſenters.

But what cauſe is there of ſuch frightful Complaints of being perſecuted for Conſcience ſake, when they themſelves may ſo eaſily and innocently take off thoſe Penalties by a Conformity to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, which is ſubmitted to by the *French* Proteſtants, who are Men of as great Learning, and as tender Conſciences, as any of the Complainers; an Eſtabliſhment which is approved by all ſorts of Proteſtants abroad, even thoſe of *Geneva* and *Holland*, where the Preſident of the Synod of *Dort* in Diſcourſe with ſome of our Divines concerning the Conſtitution of our Church, did wiſh that they might enjoy the like with a *Non licet nobis eſſe tam felicibus*; and which is acknowledged, and dreaded as the greateſt Bull-work againſt Popery.

And therefore the prime leaders of the Separation, though they did not conform as Miniſters, yet they by their Examples fully complied with our Liturgy in Prayers and Sacraments as Lay-men, attending early on the publick Worſhip, and Communicating frequently in our Sacraments, as the moſt ſober of the Ancient Non-conformiſts did, and many of the preſent do; and it is affirmed by ſome, that they who now ſeparate from the preſent Church, may for the ſame reaſon ſeparate from almoſt all other Churches in *Chriſtendom*; and one of their own Preachers delivers it as his own, and the Judgment of ſome others, *That thouſands are gone to Hell, and ten thouſands on their march thither, that in all probability would never come there, if they had not been tempted from the Pariſh Churches, for the injoyment of Communion in a Purer Church*, Mr. *Baxter* in his Epiſtle to the Separate Congregations. And as to Popery,

Popery, he ſays in his Defence of the Cure of Diviſions, *That the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, muſt be much kept up by the means of the Pariſh Miniſters, and by the Doctrine and Worſhip there performed; and they that think, and endeavour contrary to this, (of which ſide ſoever) will have the hearty Thanks and Concurrence of the Papiſts: And I am perſwaded* (ſays he) *that all the Arguments in* Bellarmine, *and all other Books that ever were written, have not done ſo much to make Papiſts in* England, *as the Multitude of Sects among our ſelves; and ſhall they uſe our Hands to do their Work?* Thus he, and to this end he adviſeth in his *Saints Reſt*, p. 518. of the firſt Edition: *Do not meet together in Oppoſition to the publick Meeting, nor at the time of publick Worſhip, nor yet to make a groundleſs Schiſm, to ſeparate from the Church, whereof you are Members, nor to deſtroy the old, that you may gather a new out of its Ruines, as long as it hath the Eſſentials, and there is hopes of reforming it.* Nor can I think what reaſon the Complainers can Aſſign, why they may not as well conform to the preſent Church, who could conform with the Apoſtolical Church in their Primitive Conſtitution, for we read, *Acts* 2. v. 41. *That thoſe Chriſtians were baptized,* and *v.* 42. *They continued ſtedfaſtly in the Apoſtles Doctrine and Fellowſhip, in breaking of Bread and Prayers*; and *v.* 46. *They continued daily with one accord in the Temple.* They had their Synod, which made things in themſelves indifferent neceſſary, *per hic & nunc*, to be obſerved for the Peace of the Church; they had a Superiority of one Miniſter above another, their Ordinations to that Office, their Cenſures to ſtop the Mouths of Gain-ſayers; their Rods and Excommunications againſt many of which doubtleſs our Complainers (had they lived in that Age) would, and might as readily have pretended ſcruples of Conſcience as now they do; and what marks the Apoſtles would have ſet upon ſuch, is very obvious, *Rom.* 16. 17. *Mark*

them

them that cauſe diviſions among you, and avoid them, for ſuch ſerve not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own bellies. So 1 Cor. 3. 3. *Whereas there are among you envying and ſtrife and diviſions, are you not carnal, and walk as men.* And Verſe 4. *While one ſaith I am of Paul, and another I of Apollo, are ye not all carnal?*

St. *Jude*, v. 16. *Theſe are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own luſts:* Theſe are they that ſeparate themſelves, ſenſual, having not the Spirit; which the Apoſtles ſeems to give as an Anſwer to their pretences of having the Spirit in an extraordinary manner.

But I ſhall not need to uſe any other Arguments to convince the Complainers of the Inſufficiency of this Objection concerning their Conſciences, than their own practice, for when the Complainers have been concerned in getting or keeping any beneficial Offices, the concern of profit doth ſatisfie the Scruples of Conſcience, and they can generally conform to the Liturgy, and Communicate in the Sacrament, and ſeem the moſt zealous and devout in the Congregation; nor will they ſtick to Educate their Children in ſuch Callings, as may fit them for ſuch Imployments wherein they muſt conform, which they could not do, if they did in their Conſciences believe Conformity to be a Sin.

Certainly we owe more to our Spiritual Guides and Fathers, than to forſake them, and abandon them to the Malice of our Common Enemies; which is as great a ſin, as if Children who have Parents, that provide all Neceſſaries for their well being, ſhould deſert them for ſome ſuppoſed Inconveniencies, ſuch as the reſtraining them from ſome things which they know to be hurtful for them, or injoyn them ſome ſmall matters which they conceive fit for them, though their Children think otherwiſe; and if they are corrected for their Faults, and ſhall

count them Tyrants and Perſecutors, they are in the ſence of the Scriptures not Children, but Baſtards, *Heb.* 12. 8. And I believe none of the Complainers, which are Paſtors or Parents, would approve the behaviour of ſuch Children.

I deſire therefore, they would ſeriouſly conſider, who they were that brought us out of a State of Darkneſs and Bondage, who vindicated the Liberty of the Goſpel, and the due Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, who have planted the Tree of Life in the midſt of us, and cultivated it by their Labours, and watered it with their Blood, and defended it againſt thoſe that would grub it up by the Roots? And ſhall we not ſubmit to them in a few Ceremonies, enjoyned onely for Decency and Order, though we think them inconvenient! St. *Peter* may inſtruct us better, who being demanded of our Lord, St. *John* 6. 68. *Will ye alſo go away? Maſter,* ſaith he, *whither ſhall we go, thou haſt the words of eternal life?* Where all things neceſſary to Salvation are conſtantly imparted, we may and ought to continue in that Communion; and it is acknowledged to be a ſin to ſeparate from ſuch a Church, wherein we may continue not only without ſin, but to the ſaving of our Souls; To which I ſhall add a very conſiderable Sentence of an Ancient Father, *Non minor eſt gloria ſuſtinere Martyrium ne ſcindatur Eccleſia quam ne idolis ſacrificetur*; 'Tis as great a glory to indure Martyrdom for the prevention of Schiſm, as to ſuffer it for not Sacrificing to Idols; ſeeing by this we ſecure our private Salvation, by the other we preſerve the publick Peace and Edification; we may innocently bear ſome Inconveniencies at their hands, from whom we receive ſo much good; eſpecially conſidering, that what we conceive to be evil, are in their own nature things indifferent, and in the Judgment of the Church, are not thought any parts of Divine Worſhip, but may be changed

changed or laid aſide, as occaſion ſhall require; as in the inſtance of the *Croſs in Baptiſm*, at which the Complainers are moſt ſcandalized, which the Church hath declared may be omitted in private Baptiſm, and yet that Sacrament be effectually Adminiſtred: And I cannot but think that perſon highly peccant againſt the Rules of Chriſtian Charity, who declared, *That the removal of ſuch innocent Ceremonies, would countervaile for all the Bloud that had been ſhed in our late Civil Wars, wherein the King and his Loyal Nobles, and many Thouſands of good Subjects loſt their Lives, beſides the many thouſands that dyed in that Rebellion.*

But if any perſon be yet diſſatisfied concerning the reaſonableneſs of what is required, in order to a Conformity to the Eſtabliſhed Doctrine and Worſhip, let him conſult the ſeveral Caſes lately publiſhed by ſome Judicious Sons of the Church of *England*, and if their prejudices be not removed, it is becauſe they are only pretended, or if real, they are unreaſonable and invincible; and he whoſe Ears are ſtopt up from hearing ſuch plain and convincing Truths, on which his Salvation doth depend, his Soul is in a dangerous condition. This Advice concerns eſpecially thoſe Leaders of the People, which cauſe them to Err, and by withdrawing them from their Folds, and dividing them, expoſe them to Deſtruction; for whoſe blood the Great Biſhop and Shepheard of our Souls, will one day exact an Account from them; which they ſhould ſeriouſly conſider how to give with Joy, and not with endleſs Grief and Confuſion; for as the Prophet *Ezekiel*, ch. 33. 6. *If a people take a man of their coaſts, and ſet him for their watchman, and that watchman ſee the ſword coming, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned, if the ſword come and take away any perſon from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his bloud will I require at the watchmans hands.* When

Quintilius Varus had unhappily loſt ſome of the *Roman* Legions, he could not be at reſt, thinking of a terrible Summons, *Quintili Vare redde Legiones*; And there is a more dreadful Account to be given of thoſe Souls for whom Chriſt dyed, before a more awful Aſſembly than any *Roman* Senate, where the Secrets of all Hearts ſhall be revealed, and the ends and deſigns and conſequences of their Actions be made manifeſt, and rewarded accordingly.

Perſecution is indeed a very heinous Sin, for if that Counſel or Way that is oppoſed and perſecuted, be of GOD, the Oppoſers will be found Fighters againſt GOD; they perſecute Chriſt in his Members, *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? I am Jeſus whom thou perſecuteſt.*

But here is another ſort of Sinners, as bad or worſe than Perſecutors; namely, falſe Prophets and Seducers, which teach Doctrines contrary to thoſe which CHRIST and his Apoſtles have taught; theſe ſtrike at the Head, when the other aim onely at the Body. The Perſecutor for the moſt part acts as a profeſſed Enemy, according to the principles and prejudices wherein he hath been Educated, and ſo acts ignorantly, in Unbelief, as St. *Paul* did; and had they known, they would not have Crucified the LORD of GLORY: the others have been inſtructed in, and profeſſed the ſame Faith, lived in the ſame Communion, but being not ſound in the Faith, in time of Temptation, fell away, and ſeek to deſtroy what they themſelves had built; not onely forſaking the Aſſemblies themſelves, but raiſing Diviſions in, and making Separation from them; ſetting up Altar againſt Altar; raiſing a War within the bowels of the Church, building Batteries, and throwing Bombs to force out thoſe that are within it: And an open Enemy is not ſo culpable as a treacherous Friend, that like *Judas*, *Cryeth haile Maſter, and betrays him with a kiſs*; Theſe do not one-

onely Crucifie him a freſh, but put him to open ſhame, as if he ſuffered as a Deceiver and Murtherer, a Blaſphemer of GOD, and an Enemy to *Cæſar*; and herein doth more miſchief than the ignorant and open Perſecutor (who perhaps acts as the *Roman* Souldiers, in Obedience to their Chieftains) and endeavours to deſtroy not a few Chriſtians, but Chriſtianity it ſelf. And the Chriſtian Religion hath often thrived under Perſecution, but hath alway been weakned and diſpirited by Diviſions and falſe Doctrines.

That one Schiſm of the *Donatiſts* in *Africa*, deſtroyed more than all the Ten Perſecutions did in thoſe Churches: The Perſecutors ſent many Chriſtian Souls that lived in the Communion of Chriſt on Earth, to enjoy it in Heaven; the others ſent many more to an Eternal Separation from the Head, having firſt cut them off from the Body: And wo be to them that ſhall be found guilty of ſo great Impiety.

That there ſhall be ſuch falſe Prophets, St. *Peter* foretold, 2 *Epiſtle* 2. 1. *Acts* 20. 30. That there ſhould ariſe ſuch from among our own ſelves, that ſhould act as grievous Wolves, not ſparing the Flock, *ſpeaking perverſe things.*

And our Saviour teacheth us, That *we may know them by their fruits*; and by their likeneſs to the falſe Prophets that were of old, ſuch as *Jannes* and *Jambres*, *Core*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, who rebelled againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron.*

St. *Jude* deſcribes them to be ſuch *as walked in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the errour of Balaam, for reward*, Jude *v.* 11.

That Bleſs where they ſhould Curſe, and Curſe where they ſhould Bleſs: Many yet living, may remember the time, when the Pulpits were imployed as ſo many Drums to ſound an Alarm to War; and the People preſt, by wreſted Scripture, to Arm themſelves

themſelves, and ingage the worſt of Men againſt the beſt of Princes; *We have no Portion in* David, *nor any Inheritance in the Son of* Jeſſe: *Every Man to his Tents* O Iſrael: And from *Judges* 5. 23. heavy Curſes denounced not againſt thoſe that *came not to help the Lords anointed againſt the mighty, but the mighty againſt the Lord and his anointed:* It will grate the Ears of all that hear what was inferred by a great *Boutifeu* from that Text, *Anno* 1641. *Curſe ye bitterly, (i. e.)* ſaith he, *not only* Maledicere verbo, *but* malefacere Re, *to execute indeed what they wiſh in words, to deal with them as with Moabites, executing the wrath of God upon them: Curſed is every one that withholds his hands from bloud (even the innocent bloud of women and children) which was to be poured out like water in every ſtreet: And curſed is he that doth it fraudulently, as* Saul *did with the* Amalakites, *ſpill ſome, and ſave ſome,* (meaning *Agag* the King.) And leſt Curſes alone ſhould not prevail, he promiſeth a Bleſſing alſo, *Bleſſed is the man that takes the little ones, and daſheth them againſt the ſtones.* Good God, to what barbarous Impieties do Carnal Luſts and Intereſts hurry on ſome Men againſt plain Scriptures, againſt Knowledge and Conſcience, and to inſpire deluded People by a falſe Zeal, to ſlay their Brethren with a Rage that reacheth up to Heaven, and think they do God as good Service in killing their Brethren, as the Prieſts that ſlew the Beaſts for Sacrifice. Such Preachers as theſe are certainly the worſt ſort of Perſecutors; they perſecute themſelves as well as their Brethren. For St. *Jude* 11. returns ſuch Curſes on their own Heads, with a woe unto them; and St. *Peter* ſays, 2 *Pet.* 2. *They ſhall bring upon themſelves ſwift deſtruction.* And he propounds three Inſtances of the Judgments that hang over their Heads, *verſe* 4. *If God ſpared not the Angels that ſinned, but caſt them down to hell, notwithſtanding the perfection of their natures; then no pretence of purity will ſecure theſe, if he deſtroyed the old world, for*

abuſing

abuſing Noah *a Preacher of Righteouſneſs; then neither ſhall their numbers exempt them, if he turned the Cities of* Sodom *and* Gomorrha *into Aſhes, for an example to all that ſhould live ungodly; then how ſecure ſoever theſe men may ſeem, they are not ſafe, the Sun that ſhines on them in the morning, may rain down Fire and Brimſtone on them before night.*

Object. Theſe are terrible Judgments, but where are thoſe falſe Prophets to whom they belong?

Anſw. I know not any party (though there be very many among us) whoſe Leaders do not accuſe the Guides of the other Parties as falſe Prophets, as either not having a lawful Ordination, but run before they are ſent, or being lawfully Ordained, do preach ſuch Doctrines as are not agreeable to the written word, which is the only Canon, or Rule of Faith and Manners: As to the firſt, *viz.* The lawfulneſs of Ordination, it hath been ſufficiently evidenced againſt the Papiſts, that the Miniſters of the Eſtabliſhed Church of *England* are lawfully Ordained, and by the Conceſſions of the moſt ſober Diſſenters it is granted, (who never required any other Ordination of ſuch as went over to the oppoſite Parties,) nor doth the Church of *England* deny the validity of Ordinations in the Church of *Rome*, though it doth deny the ſame to thoſe ſeparate Factions, which heap up Teachers to themſelves, having itching Ears, for the Primitive Church hath never approved of ſuch Ordinations, wherein a Biſhop did not preſide and joyn with his Presbyters.

But ſuppoſing the Ordination to be valid, we are to conſider the truth of thoſe Doctrines by the correſpondency they bare to the Canon of the Holy Scriptures; for whoever ſhall preach any other Doctrine as an Article of Faith neceſſarily to be received

and

and believed, in order to Salvation, though it be an Angel from Heaven, 'tis the Apoſtles Sentence that *he be accurſed*, Gal. 2. 8. *(i. e.)* we may have no Communion with him, by this rule therefore we are to try the Doctrines and Spirits of thoſe falſe Prophets which are abroad in the World, and by theſe Characters we may diſcern them; if there be any that do deny that Jeſus Chriſt is come into the World, or that he is indeed the Son of God, of one and the ſame ſubſtance with the Father; if any reject the Doctrines taught by him and his Apoſtles, reſiſting the Truth and Faith once deliver'd to the Saints, being aſhamed of Chriſt and his Words, if any reject the Inſtitutions of Chriſt's Miniſters and Sacraments, or add new Precepts and Commandments, requiring the like obſervance of them, as of his Word and Ordinance; if any ſhall publickly preach ſuch Opinions and Practiſes, as are not according to Godlineſs, but tend directly to Profaneneſs, Uncleanneſs, Diſorder, and Diviſion; if any forbid what God Commands, or command what God forbids, teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men; ſuch men will be found falſe Prophets; and whether the *Socinians* that deny the equality of the Son of God with the Father, in one Subſtance, whether they that ſet up other Mediators between God and Man, or command Divine Worſhip to be given to the Creatures, and the work of Mens hands, or that to colour this Impiety, expunge the ſecond Commandment, that add to the number of Sacraments more than Chriſt Ordained, and take from thoſe which he inſtituted an Eſſential part; ſuch as the Cup in the Lord's Supper, with a *Non-obſtante* to Chriſt's Inſtitution, or ſuch as wholly deny the uſe and efficacy of Baptiſm, that prefer their own Prayers to that of our Saviour, and their own Dreams and Deluſions to the Revelation of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; whether they that teach Diſobedience to Magiſtrates, and ſpeaking evil of Dignities, and ſtir up Seditions

and

and Diviſions, from whence come Wars and Confuſions, and every evil thing; whether theſe have not the Characters of falſe Prophets, the Scriptures and Primitive Councils have determined.

And if the Eſtabliſhed Church teach no other Doctrine, than what is conſonant to the Holy Scriptures, and approved as well by *Papiſts* as by *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; for as for the other Sectaries, *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, &c. who reject the Authority of Scriptures, we are not much concerned for their Objections, if we worſhip the only true God, and own Chriſt Jeſus, God and Man, to be the only Mediator between God and Man, obſerving all, and only the Doctrines of Chriſt, for rendring unto *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſars*, and unto God the things that are Gods: The Character of a falſe Prophet cannot juſtly be imputed to any of her Miniſters; the great Crime objected to the Church by the *Romaniſts*, is our ſeparation from their Communion, to which it is Anſwered, That we have no otherwiſe left them, than they have deſerted the Doctrines and Communion of the Scriptures, and the Primitive Church, for the firſt four hundred Years, to which, if they ſhall return, we are ready to give them the right hand of Fellowſhip. But then it will be objected by ſome modern Diſſenters, in the words of *Optatus*, *Paces credemus uno ſigillo ſigillati ſumus nec aliter baptizati, nec aliter ordinati quam vos teſtamentum Divinum legimus pariter*, &c. We believe in the ſame God and Saviour, we are Baptized and Ordained as you, and read the ſame Divine Teſtament; but they are anſwered in the words of the ſame Father, *Hoc ſolo nomine quod a Chriſti Eccleſia ſeparati eſtis vitam non habebitis*; for this only Crime of forſaking the Communion of Chriſt's Church, you may come ſhort of Eternal Life. To which agreeth that of St. *Auguſtin*, *Extra Eccleſiam Omnia poſſunt habere præter ſalutem poſſunt habere*

honorem poſſint habere ſacramentum poſſunt cantare Hallelujah poſſunt reſpondere, Amen poſſunt Evangelium tenere & predicare poſſunt in nomine patris & filii & ſpiritus ſancti fidem habere, & predicare ſed nuſquam niſi in Eccleſiâ Catholica poſſunt ſalutem invenire. And therefore we are told, That Schiſm is as ſtudiouſly to be avoided as Idolatry. *Non minor eſt gloria Martyrium ſuſtinere ne ſeinditur Eccleſia, quare ne Idolis ſacrificetur,* By denying the one, we conſult for our private Salvation, by the other, for the publick ſafety of the Church.

And if indeed we are agreed in the Eſſentials of Religion, what cauſe can be given why by our Diſſention in ſome Circumſtances, we ſhould expoſe our ſelves and the People to all thoſe Miſchiefs, which will inevitably follow on our Diviſions? For on the ſame grounds that they who agree with us in Doctrinals, do deny to hold Communion with us in Worſhip; others that have not ſo great an agreement with them, may forſake their Communion; and ſo our Diviſions may be perpetuated and multiplied.

Inter licet noſtrum & non licet veſtrum nutant animæ Chriſtianorum nemo vobis credit, nemo nobis omnes contentioſi homines ſumus, ſaith *Optatus*, p. 84. The People will not believe we have the ſame Faith, when they ſee we agree not in the ſame Worſhip. But if we have indeed the ſame Faith, why do we ſeparate? It is doubtleſs a Sin to ſeparate from that Church, in whoſe Communion we may remain without Sin; and it is a real Imputation of ſomewhat that is ſinful in our Communion, when we ſeparate from it, becauſe nothing but Sin can warrant a Separation.

Our Saviour tells us, *That he that is not with him, is againſt him, and he that gathereth not ſcattereth*; and by a like conſequence, he that ſcattereth deſtroyeth; when two Princes are ingaged in a War, if thoſe Subjects that have lived under the Govern-

ment

ment of either of them, ſhall according to their Power refuſe to aſſiſt their lawful Prince, they may be accounted as Enemies; *Suetonius in vita Neronis, Sect.* 2. ſaith *Cn. Domitius medios, inter hoſtes habendos cenſuit*: And the *Lacedemonians* had a Law, that in caſe of a Civil War, if any perſon ſtood neutral, when the War was ended, both Parties ſhould agree to confiſcate his Goods, and pull down his Houſe as an Enemy to both; and thus the *Romans* dealt with *Metius Suffetius*, who in the War between the *Romans* and *Albans* ſtood hovering with his Army, waiting the event of the War, till the *Romans* got the Victory, who condemned him to be torn in pieces with wild Horſes; it was not becauſe he did them any hurt, but becauſe he did not yield them that Aſſiſtance which in duty he was bound; ſo that Neuters do generally make both Parties their Enemies, and ſeeking to ſave their Lives, they looſe them; for all Governments do agree, to ſhew more kindneſs to an open and generous Enemy, than to a pretended but treacherous Friend; as in the Caſe of *Pub. Servilius, Medum ſe gerendo nec plebis vetuit odium, nec apud patres gratiam miſit*, as *Suetonius*: But *Manlius*, which had been againſt the Senate, being reconciled, *Patribus mire fuit gratioſus*, was greatly favoured by the Senate; therefore he concludes, *Quando alterum habiturus ſis inimicum jacienda eſt alea alteratri adherendum*: We muſt cleave to one Party, or we make both our Enemies; but *contra publicos hoſtes omnis homo Miles*, as when the Sea breaks down the Banks, and begins to overflow a Country, every one ought to contribute his endeavours to prevent a general Deluge, or he may be guilty of deſtroying himſelf and his Neighbours; ſo it is with thoſe that neglect their bounden duties in defence of their Religion, and the publick Peace.

And this reaſon is given to countenance ſuch Practices, for *Non capet ſcrupulo ſocietatis Occultæ qui*

manifeſto facinori deſinit obviari; He is juſtly ſuſpected to be confederate in an evil Deſign, who knowing it doth not endeavour to prevent it.

As when *Moſes* ſaw an *Iſraelite* and *Egyptian* ſtriving, if by his neglect to ſave the *Iſraelite*, the *Egyptian* had prevailed, he had made himſelf acceſſary to the deſtruction of his Brother; and thus we are taught, That our Saviour will at the laſt day condemn thoſe that have not fed the Hungry, *&c.* together with thoſe that have oppreſſed and robbed them.

God threatned the *Edomites*, Obadiah, *v.* 11. to deſtroy them for their Violence againſt their Brethren of *Jacob*; yet we read not there of any act of Violence againſt them, but---- *Thou ſtoodeſt on the other ſide when Strangers carried away Captive, their Forces and Foreigners entred her Gates, and caſt Lots on* Jeruſalem: *Thou waſt as one of them, but thou ſhouldeſt not have looked on the day of thy Brother, nor ſhouldeſt have rejoyced over the Children of* Judah, *in the day of their Deſtruction, nor ſpoken proudly in the day of their Diſtreſs: As thou haſt done, it ſhall be done to thee, thy Reward ſhall return on thy own Head.*

When *Haman* procured that bloudy Decree, for the Deſtruction of the Jewiſh Nation, *Mordecai* perſwaded *Heſter* to intercede for them by this Argument, *If thou altogether hold thy Peace, Deliverance ſhall come, but (for not doing thy duty) thou and thy Father's Houſe ſhall be deſtroyed.* If the Edict had taken effect, it would be in vain for *Heſter* to have pleaded the favour that *Ahaſueroſh* had for her, ſhe would probably have been executed as a Jew; as *Plutarch* relates of *Manlius*, whom the *Romans* condemned for favouring the *Gauls*, when he pleaded his former Services. *Manlius eras mihi dum precipites agebas Senones, poſt quam mutari cepiſti factus es unus ex Senonibus:* They are Friends that engage with one another in times of Danger, but when they

they ſtand as Neuters, they are as Enemies: Hence the Spirit of God declares as great deteſtation of a fearful and luke-warm temper, as of that which is cold, and he threatneth to ſpue them out of his Mouth: They that halt between two Opinions are fitter to be Prieſts of *Baal*, than of the Living God; and a ſtrange infatuation it is, to purſue all thoſe methods which our Enemies have deſigned for our Deſtruction. But to ſpeak in the ſecond place, as to the manner of ſuffering, ſo as to denominate thoſe Sufferings Perſecutions, we are to indure them patiently without unlawful Reſiſtance or Revenge; ſo ſaith our Saviour, *Mat.* 5. 39. *Reſiſt not evil*, and when he himſelf ſuffered the greateſt injuries and pains, as a Sheep before the Shearer is dumb, ſo opened he not his Mouth: And St. *Paul*, Rom. 12. 17. forbids us to *recompence evil for evil*, or to avenge our ſelves, *but rather to give place unto wrath, and not be overcome of evil, but to overcome evil with good*; againſt which indiſpenſible Duties they do greatly offend, who heretofore diſagreeing extreamly from each other, do now wonderfully agree in breathing out Threatnings and Revenge againſt the Eſtabliſhed Church, as if it were an Aſſembly of bloudy Thieves, Murtherers, and Perſecutors; and endeavour to ruin her by ſuch falſe Accuſations, and railing Speeches, as *Michael* the Arch-angel durſt not to bring againſt the Devil himſelf. A Sin that is accompanied with ſo many aggravations, as render it extreamly ſinful; for firſt, ſo it is to deal with our beſt Friends, as if they were our greateſt Enemies, which we are forbid by our Saviour to do; which is to act as *David*'s Enemies, againſt whom by a Prophetick Spirit, he denounceth ſo many dreadful Curſes, as ſuch men may do well ſeriouſly to conſider, *Pſal.* 109. 6. who make it their buſineſs to return (inſtead of Good for Evil,)

Evil

Evil for Good, and Hatred for good Will, and count thoſe as Enemies who teach them the Truth.

But Secondly, it is a great Aggravation of this Sin, when our Wrath is more againſt their Perſons, for their Dignities and Endowments, than for any Vice, Injuſtice, or Injuries that they have done us, which is to act as *Cain* did, in the Murther of *Abel*, who ſlew him through Envy, becauſe his Sacrifice was better and more accepted; for if we approve of the Doctrine of the Church, and can joyn with them in their Worſhip and Sacraments, but will by no means be reconciled to their Perſons, through Envy to their Preferments, but will rather joyn with known Enemies, than with ſuch real (though falſely ſuſpected) Friends; this is to be of the like mind as *Coſmo* Duke of *Florence*, who ſaid, *He had read, and learned, that he ought to forgive his Enemies, but never that he ought to forgive his Friends.* Whereas we ought to love the perſon of thoſe Enemies, whoſe Vices we hate, but to hate any man's Perſon for his Vertues, and the Rewards of them is to hate them, the *Phariſees* hated Chriſt, whoſe whole Life was ſpent in going about to do Good. *This is the Heir,* (ſay they) *come let us kill him, and the Inheritance will be ours:* It is as plain as any demonſtration in *Euclyde*, That it is not Truth, Religion, or Conſcience, that ſuch men contend for, but Reputation, Dominion, and Intereſt; and it will be no great Comfort or Glory to them, if with the *Phariſees* they have their Reward in this World.

3. It is another aggravation of this Sin of Revenge, when if it ſhould obtain the deſired effect, we cannot expect any benefit to our ſelves, but (*Pereant amici dummodo unà pereant inimici*) are content that our Friends and our Foes ſhould periſh together; and as the envious man would willingly looſe one Eye, ſo as our Enemy may looſe both. The Devil

they

they ſay is good to his own, and no man ever hated his own Fleſh; it is therefore an over-grown Malice, when neither the Plea of *Abraham* to *Lot*, *Let there be no ſtrife I pray thee between me and thee, for we are Brethren*; nor that of the *Canaanites*, being in the Land that ſought their common Ruin, can prevail for a Reconciliation; but when we have real fears of *a venient Romani*, the *Romans* will come and take away our Place, and our Nation; do yet joyn as the *Jews* and *Romans* did to crucifie him with whom our Agreement may keep them out; this is to love Miſchief for Miſchiefs ſake, and deſperately to reſolve and do as *Sampſon* did, to pull down that fabrick in the Ruins whereof we are ſure to be buried; and if their Damnation be juſt, who do evil that good may come of it, how much more juſt is their Damnation, that wilfully commit that one great Evil that will inevitably bring on our ſelves and others, a Deluge of Miſeries. *Socrates* was of a better perſwaſion than ſuch men,

Qui partem acceptæ ſæpe inter vincla cicut cicutæ,
Accuſatori nollet dare.

who would not have any part of that Poiſon which he was condemned to drink, to be given to his falſe Accuſer; but the Chriſtian Religion teacheth us not to avenge our ſelves when we have Power and Opportunity to do it, as St. *Ambroſe* obſerves concerning our Saviour's Diſcourſe with St. *Peter*, Luke 22. 36. *Domine cur me gladium emere jubes quem ferire prohibes niſi forte ut ſit parata defenſio non ultio, ut videar potuiſſe vindicare & noluiſſe:* It was a reply worthy of *Lewes* the Twelfth King of *France*, when he was perſwaded to avenge himſelf on ſome that had endeavoured to prevent his Succeſſion to the Crown: It doth not become a King of *France* to revenge the Injuries done to the Duke of *Orleans*, but it no way be-

becomes those who were once dealt with as Enemies to Church and State; (how justly I need not say) as soon as they have gotten any power to threaten Revenge on such who only did their Duty, and still are ready to be reconciled to them, which is an Argument that they are not yet *recti in curia*; but though they justifie themselves are still in the number of such Righteous Persons as think they need no Repentance.

I shall mention but one Aggravation more, (*i. e.*) when revengeful persons respect only their own private satisfaction, and not the Vindication of the Laws of God or Men: Let Heresie and Schism, Sedition and Rebellion go on and prosper, they are as unconcern'd as *Gallio* was for the imprisoning of St. *Paul*, and the beating of *Sosthenes*, Acts 18. 17. but the prosperity of *Jerusalem* is such an Eye-soar, that they cannot see the things belonging to their Peace; it is not Zeal for Religion, which such revengeful Prosecutions do greatly indanger, nor Love to Religion which they on whom they seek to be revenged have been Zealous for, but some private Designs of their own, which drives them on so furiously; for *Difficilius in suis quam alienis pericules mitem esse.*

Thus *Themistocles* opposed the Counsels of *Aristides*, not because they were not for the benefit of the Common-wealth, but that he might suppress the Reputation and Intereſt of his Competitor; and a malicious Mind will rather suffer any thing, than the Prosperity of his Adversary, though it be to the sacrificing of his own, or the publick Peace.

And now let me mind the Complainers of another sort of Persecution, (*i. e.*) of the Tongue, which cuts as a Rasor, and is as deadly sometimes as the Poyson of Asps. The Heathen were wont to clap the Skins of Bears and Wolves on the backs of Christians, and so expose them to be torn of wild Beasts.

And

And thus do too many deal with their Adverſaries, they repreſent them as cruel, tyrannical, and perſecuting Perſons, and ſo expoſe them to the Rage of the People; little do thoſe ſlanderous and malicious Men think how guilty they are of what they condemn in others; for *quos gladio nequeunt voto interficiunt*; and in the Judgment of God, the malicious and hateful Perſon is a Murtherer, as *Optatus* ſays, That the *Donatiſts* ſlew the Biſhops, *Gladio ovis*, and the hateful and revengeful Man wants only Power and Opportunity to be a Murtherer. *Little do the real Separatiſts who cry out againſt Perſecution, ſuſpect* (ſaith Mr. *Baxter* in his Cure of Diviſions) *that the ſame ſpirit is in them.* Whence is Perſecution but from thinking ill of others, and abhorring, or not loving them? And do not you do ſo by thoſe whom you cauſeleſly ſeparate from. It is one and the ſame thing in the Perſecutor and Divider, which cauſeth the one to ſmite their Brethren, and the other to excommunicate them, the one to caſt them into Priſon as Schiſmaticks, and the other to caſt them out of the Church as Profane—the inward Thoughts of both are the ſame, that thoſe whom they ſmite or ſeparate from are bad and unlovely and unfit for better uſage: So he.

We have ſeen many Revolutions and Changes, and how many more may paſs over this Generation, God only knows; But whatever they be, whatever party be uppermoſt, we cannot reaſonably expect that our Priviledges ſhall be more, or our Penalties leſs than they are under the preſent Eſtabliſhment. Let us bleſs God, and learn to be content with ſuch things as we have, for we have deſerved much worſe; may the Church never ſuffer greater Perſecution than what ſhe hath acted; nor they that hate her, ever find harder Task-maſters; and if it chance to fall, as the Eagle did by a Dart feathered from her own Wing, it is no more than what our Saviour did, who was betrayed by a Diſciple of his own, that bore the Bag; and as it will be no diſgrace to any to ſuffer as our Saviour did, ſo neither will it be any Glory to do as *Judas* did. The Royal Martyr, than whom there was not a meeker or more merciful Prince on the Earth, was barbarouſly murthered as a Tyrant, and Deſtroyer of his People; but as they who fought againſt, and overcame him, and then ſold him to thoſe who impriſoned, and ſlew him, could no more waſh their hands from his Bloud than *Pilate* did, for delivering Chriſt to the *Jews* and *Romans* to be crucified; ſo neither ſhall they be able to excuſe themſelves, (though they ſhould plead that things fell out beyond their expectation, or that it was a perſecuting Church,) if by their deſerting, accuſing, and betraying of it, it ſhall

be destroyed; and though it hath been accused, and should be condemned as a Persecutor; yet I doubt not but she will be found a constant Preacher of that Doctrine which our Saviour taught her, of rendring unto *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar*'s, and unto God the things that are God's.

In my former Treatise of Persecution, *p.* 3. I promised as a Second Part, of an Historical Relation of Matters of Fact, which upon some consideration got the start of this, being printed *Anno* 1684, and was Entituled, *A Compendious History of all the Popish and Fanatical Plots and Conspiracies against the Established Government, from the First Year of Queen* Elizabeth, *to* 1684. It remains now, that I continue that Relation to the end of the Reign of the late King *James* the Second: In order whereunto, I think it necessary to premonish the Reader, who were the Actors, and who the Sufferers in these later Transactions. The Persons concerned on the one-side were the Church of *England*, as by Law Established; on the other-side, I account the *Dissenters* of all sorts, which acted sometimes severally, and at other times by combination, to undermine and destroy the Established Church; which being in a legal possession of its Rights, those who endeavoured either by open Acts of Hostility, or secret and subtile Arts of Defamations, Tolerations, illegal Conventicles, Confederacies, and Compliances with her professed Enemies, were the Aggressors and Persecutors; and therefore, though their Malice was so impotent, that it could never obtain its desired effect, yet that will not excuse them from being of a persecuting Spirit; nor will their first and loud Clamours of Persecution, Goals, Fines, and Imprisonment, make impartial and rational Men believe, that they were persecuted at all (much less by the Church, which, as I have shewn, had never power to inflict such punishments); but only that the Sanctions of just and necessary Laws (without which no Church or State can subsist) were executed upon Transgressors. The Members of the Church have suffered more for their moderation and kindness to Dissenters of all sorts, than for any rigorous prosecution of any: The Papists reviling them for being too favourable to Protestant Dissenters; and these, for too great a compliance with Papists. These account us Hereticks and Schismaticks for departing so far from them; the other hate us, as Superstitious and Idolatrous, for not going farther; insomuch, as the bare performance of our Duties, to which the Laws of God and the Land do oblige us, as well as our personal Oaths and Subscriptions, is by our Adversaries, of all sorts, accounted

accounted our Crime; and unleſs we wholly neglect our Duties, and ſo render our ſelves obnoxious to the Laws, we are ſure to be reviled as Perſecutors; which is a Calumny as groundleſs, as if a Man that is legally poſſeſſed of an Eſtate, ſhould be condemned as an Uſurper, for not delivering up the poſſeſſion to every Outlaw that demands it.

I know that the Clamors which ſuch Men make, as have drawn the legal Penalties on their own heads, may move the Mobilie to pity them, and entertain hard thoughts of the Laws themſelves; but Men of more mature and ſober Judgments will conclude, that ſuch Tranſgreſſors do rather perſecute the Laws, than the Laws them. As in the Caſe of reſtraining diſtracted and ungovernable perſons: *Non perſequitur medicus phreneticum ſed Phreneticus Medicum.*

The firſt Matter of Fact that I ſhall mention, is the Behaviour of the Biſhops in Parliament, and the reſt of the Clergy in their ſeveral ſtations, on the occaſion of the Bill of Excluſion, which was with great earneſtneſs proſecuted by a Party in the Houſe of Commons, and as vigorouſly oppoſed by another Party, whoſe Debates and Speeches *Pro* and *Con*, are Printed at large: And although the proſpect of a Popiſh Succeſſor might have prevailed with the Houſe of Lords to admit ſome more moderate Debates thereupon, yet was it no ſooner preſented than rejected, and the blame thereof, by the Commons, was charged on the Biſhops; who were thereupon accounted of as a dead weight laying on the Nation, and fit to be removed; and it was urged againſt them in that Houſe, That they might well be afraid of their Religion, if the Fathers of the Church will joyn againſt the only Means that can ſave it: Nor were the generality of the Clergy defective in declaring their Reſolutions to adhere to the Succeſſion, being thereto encouraged by the Duke's ſolemn Proteſtation, *That if ever he came to the Crown, he would ſupport the Church in her Rights:* Which Promiſe was not ſo unalterable as to the Duke, nor ſo infallibly believed by the Church, who perceived that he had acted contrary to it, in procuring Tolerations and Indulgences, to the dividing and weakning of the Church. But by theſe manifeſtations of their Loyalty and Fidelity to the Succeſſion, the whole Body of the Clergy contracted more Odium from the diſaffected People, their Party in the Houſe of Commons having Voted the Bill of Excluſion, as an Act for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, by Diſabling the Duke of *York* to Inherit the Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; which is to be ſeen at large, *p.* 83. *&c.* of the Collection of the Debates; the Preamble whereunto is as followeth: *Whereas* James *Duke of* York *is notoriouſly known to be perverted from the Proteſtant to the Popiſh Religion, whereby not*

only great encouragement hath been given to the Popiſh Party to enter into, and to carry on moſt deviliſh and horrid Plots and Conſpiracies, for the Deſtruction of His Majeſty's moſt Sacred Perſon and Government, and for the Extirpation of the True Proteſtant Religion. And alſo, *That if the ſaid Duke ſhould ſucceed to the Imperial Crown of this Kingdom, nothing is more manifeſt, than that a total Change of Religion within theſe Kingdoms would enſue; for prevention whereof be it enacted,* &c. To which ſome in their Speeches added, That it was impoſſible that a Popiſh Succeſſor ſhould come to the Crown, but through a Sea of Blood, and ſuch a War as might ſhake the Monarchy, and endanger both him and his Children; which notwithſtanding, they generally declared for the Succeſſion, though they were premoniſht how dear it would coſt them; and this is a great Argument that they were not of a revengeful or perſecuting Spirit; but rather diſpoſed to ſuffer, when God ſhould call them to it; and in the mean time return good for evil.

Upon *Munday*, being *Feb.* 2. 1684, *Charles* II. was ſeized by a violent Fit, ſuppoſed to be an Appoplexy, whereof he died on the *Thurſday* following; and that Afternoon K. *James* II. was proclaimed, who ſitting in his Privy Council, then aſſembled, declared, *That ſince it pleaſed Almighty God to place him in that Station, and that he was now to ſucceed ſo good and gracious a King, as well as ſo kind a Brother, he thought fit to declare, That he would endeavour to follow his Example, and more eſpecially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People. That he had been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power, though that had not been the only ſtory which had been made of him. That he knew the Principles of the Church of* England *were for Monarchy; and that the Members of it had ſhewn themſelves Good and Loyal Subjects, and therefore he ſhould always take care to defend and ſupport them. And that he likewiſe knew, that the Laws of* England *were ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he could wiſh; and therefore, as he ſhould never depart from the juſt Rights and Priviledges of the Crown, ſo he would never invade any Man's Property.* Which Declaration was then ordered in Council to be Publiſhed, and the ſame was repeated at the Coronation, and then confirmed by his Oath; for which Addreſſes of Thanks were ſent the King from all parts of the Nation, aſſuring him of their Loyalty and Reſolutions to maintain his Rights, and defend his Perſon with their Lives and Fortunes. Theſe Declarations were repeated to the Parliament, which met *May* 22. 1685. *That they might be aſſured that he ſpake them not by chance, and that they might more firmly rely on a Promiſe ſo ſolemnly made.* But how this Promiſe was performed, may appear by the following Events.

During the ſitting of this Parliament, News was brought of the Landing of *Argyle* in *Scotland*; and ſhortly after, of the Landing of the Duke

of

of *Monmouth* in the *West* of *England*; whereupon the Parliament readily declared to ſtand by the King with their Lives and Fortunes, for the ſuppreſſing of thoſe Rebellions, deſiring him to take more than ordinary care of his Perſon. And though the Rebellions were ſuppreſſed chiefly by the voluntary Aſſiſtance of ſuch as were of the Communion of the Church of *England*, among whom the R. R. the Biſhop of *Winchester* was a great Inſtrument; and the Scholars of *Oxford* cheerfully ingaged themſelves: And the Militia raiſed in the *West*, cauſed *Monmouth* to turn *East-ward* in the Mouth of the King's Army. Yet in *October* following, the King took occaſion to complain how uſeleſs the Militia was on ſuch occaſions, and to tell them, *That nothing but a good Force of well diſciplined Troops in conſtant pay, was ſufficient to defend them from ſuch as might diſturb them at home, or from abroad.* And here was a Foundation laid for a Standing Army, ſuch as the King intended in a due time, by a *French* General, and *Iriſh* Souldiers, to overawe the Nation, and make the Inſtruments of accompliſhing his Deſigns; and there needed but a few more ſoft ſteps till the Church be ſurprized, and awakened out of that Security, wherein her own Innocence, and the King's frequent and ſolemn Promiſes had brought her; but firſt the State of *Ireland* muſt be altered; the Earl of *Clarendon* is called home, to make way for *Tyrconnel*; *Scotland* is ſecured by an Army which was raiſed for the ſuppreſſing of *Argyle*; the Duke of *Albemarle*, that was too popular, is ſent to *Jamaica*, and whatever, or whoſoever might be thought able to withſtand any violence that ſhould be offered to the Church, and the Religion that was Eſtabliſhed is removed, and the Power put into ſuch hands as the King could confide in, for the deſtruction of the ſame. And becauſe the Proteſtant Diſſenters were a conſiderable Party, and their Eyes began to be ſo far opened, as to perceive that they ſhould periſh in the Ruine of the Church, which made them more inclinable to a Union with it, for prevention of their common deſtruction, the old Stratagem of a Toleration and Liberty of Conſcience, which *Coleman* declared to be an effectual means to deſtroy the Eſtabliſhed Church, is now made uſe of.

This bold and fatal ſtroke was made immediately at the Root of the Religion and Laws eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*; but ſeconded by the ſame Arm againſt the Eſtabliſhment in *England*, as will evidently appear upon theſe conſiderations. The Proclamation for Liberty of Conſcience in *Scotland*, dated *Feb.* 12. 1687.

In which conſider firſt, the Foundation of it in theſe words, *We have thought fit to grant, and by our Soveraign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and Abſolute Power, which all our Subjects are to obey without reſerve, do hereby grant our Royal Toleration*, &c. Which words do aſſert a Power in the

the King to command what he pleaſeth, and an Obligation in the Subject to obey whatever he commands.

2. This Abſolute Power is not grounded on any Law, leſt it ſhould ſeem to be derived from the People, but on a Soveraign Authority inherent in the King's Perſon, *Jure Divino*, which may be exerciſed on that ground as well in *England* as *Scotland*, as the event ſhews it was.

3. This Abſolute Power is to be obeyed by all the Subjects without reſerve (*i. e.*) not only by a paſſive ſubmiſſion to the Power, but by an active compliance with it; ſo that when the King ſhall declare it to be his Will and Pleaſure, That all his Subjects renounce the Proteſtant Religion, and turn *Roman Catholicks*, (to which his Religion binds him, and as he hopes for Salvation, and under the Penalty of being depoſed by the *Pope*) they are bound to be of the King's Religion.

4. That the Subjects that will partake of the benefit of this Toleration, muſt ſwear, To the utmoſt of their power to aſſiſt, defend, and maintain the King and his Succeſſors, in the exerciſe of this Abſolute Power, againſt all deadly, (*i. e.*) all Mortals. So that the Subjects were to make a very dear purchaſe of this (intolerable) Toleration; for which they were to pawn their Souls, and ſubmit all they had to an Abſolute Power, without reſerve.

Let us conſider therefore the intrinſick value of this Toleration, which ſays, *We do give and grant our Royal Toleration to the ſeveral Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion after-named*: Where the word Royal looks like a ſtamp on baſe Metal, mixt of *Popery* and *Quakeriſm*, expreſſed in the Proclamation, and is ſo general, that as never any Chriſtian Prince granted the like, ſo the King as a *Roman Catholick*, could not grant to any of thoſe mentioned, (*viz.*) either of the *Church of Scotland*, then eſtabliſhed under Epiſcopacy; or to the *Presbyterians* or *Quakers*, whom the *Church of Rome* accounts Hereticks. But then it is to be conſidered, that this Toleration of the Proteſtant Subjects, is granted under the ſeveral Conditions, Reſtrictions, and Limitations mentioned. As firſt: None are to be tolerated, but ſuch as accept of the Toleration; (*i. e.*) acknowledge the Lawfulneſs of the Abſolute Power, and ſwear to maintain it. 2. That nothing be ſaid or done in their Meetings, that is contrary to the Weal and Peace of our Reign, Seditious, or Treaſonable; and that they only exerciſe in private Houſes. But what would be interpreted to be Seditious, the moſt cautious Preacher could hardly diſcern: But that all *Scotland* might know for whoſe ſake the Toleration was granted, and who alone would, in time, reap the benefit of it, after a large commendation of the Papiſts as good Chriſtians, and dutiful Subjects, it follows, *We by our Abſolute Power ſuſpend, ſtop, and diſable all Laws, or Acts of Parliament, made a-*

gainſt

gainſt Roman Catholicks: So that they ſhall be as free in all reſpects as any of our Proteſtant Subjects; not only as to the exerciſe of their Religion, but to enjoy all Offices, Benefices, and others, which we ſhall think fit to beſtow upon them: And to this end it follows, *We do by our Royal Authority aforeſaid, (i. e.)* the Abſolute Power, *ſtop, diſable, and diſpenſe with all Laws injoyning any Oaths or Teſts*, &c. And whereas the Toleration for Proteſtants was clogg'd with ſeveral Conditions, *&c.* this for Papiſts is amplified in theſe words, *We command all our Judges, and others concerned, to explain this in the moſt ample ſenſe and meaning*, &c. *for their Indemnity.*

I have repeated the heads of this Proclamation more largely, that the Reader may ſee, what little reaſon the Proteſtant Subjects of *Scotland* had to return thoſe ſlaviſh Addreſſes, which would be too nauſeous to repeat: It is no great wonder that the *Scottiſh* Mobilie ſhould return their Thanks, when the Privy Council declared, They would aſſert his Prerogative with the hazard of their Lives; and that whoever were employed by him, were ſufficiently ſecured by his Authority. But that the *Engliſh* Subjects ſhould dance after the *Scottiſh* Pipe, upon ſuch Winds as blow hot and cold in the ſame breath, is an indelible Reproach of ignorance, and of obſtinacy againſt what is their True Intereſt, the ſupport of the Proteſtant Religion, Laws, and Liberties. Yet when the like Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, dated *April* 4. 1687, came forth for *England*, tho' the pretences were, *That it ever had been his Majeſty's Opinion, that Conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, nor People forced in Matters of meer Religion, and that the perfect enjoyment of their Property had never been in any Caſe invaded by him:* when it was known that the rigour uſed againſt Diſſenters was urged by the Court; and many Outrages committed by a Standing Army, againſt the Subjects Property. And the ſuſpending of Laws did ſtrike at the very Foundation of Government, and Deſtruction of the Subjects, by placing Papiſts, who were not qualified by Law, into Offices and Places of Truſt, Civil and Military, it is a wonder how any Faction in *England* could addreſs their Thanks, and promiſe to ſtand by the King, as a Return of Gratitude for ſuch a Toleration, as gave liberty to *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Atheiſts*; but was particularly deſigned for the eſtabliſhing of that Religion which ſhould perſecute and devour all the reſt; and yet there wanted not Addreſſes of Thanks from all parts of the Nation for this Liberty of Conſcience, as it is called (but really of Confuſion). The Addreſſes are ſo many, and fulſome, that I ſhall not ſurcharge the Reader with them; only obſerve, that they were offered by a Generation who ſucceeded thoſe that petitioned for the Death of the Royal Martyr; that addreſſed *Oliver Cromwel*, and

his

his Son *Richard*, with the like odious Flatteries, but that they ſhould addreſs their Thanks for taking off thoſe Laws that kept out Popery and Slavery, is more, I ſuppoſe, than their Forefathers would have done; only it is evident, that it was done on a deſign to ruine the Church of *England*, though every ordinary perſon might perceive, that the advance of the Church of *Rome* was intended by it; and if it had been in the power of thoſe Addreſſers, Popery and Slavery would have been entailed on them and their Poſterity by a Law.

And though the Church of *England* had better Aſſurances, both by the Laws, and by their conſtant adhering to the Crown, than the Promiſes in that Proclamation, yet becauſe they refuſed to return their Thanks, they were charged with the brand of *Abhorrers*, by the oppoſite Factions, who might well conclude, that ſince the King failed ſo much in his moſt ſolemn and deſerved Promiſes to that Church, which was by Law Eſtabliſhed, and was the Body of the Nation, thoſe ſcattered Parties which had not deſerved any Favour from the Crown, could not expect a performance of thoſe Promiſes: But by this we ſee what ſlender opportunities ſome Men are ready to lay hold on, to vent their Malice againſt the Church, thô their own Ruine be involved in it. And what was the import of ſuch Addreſſes, but to thank the King for diſpenſing with thoſe Laws, and as much as in him lay, abrogating and diſſolving them, which were made as a Fence to the Proteſtant Religion, and for opening a wide gap for Popery and Slavery to come in and triumph over us.

In *April*, 1688, the King declares, *That he was encouraged by the multitude of Addreſſes received from his Subjects, to endeavour to eſtabliſh Liberty of Conſcience on ſuch Foundations as ſhould be unalterable: And deſires his Subjects to conſider, that for the Three Years laſt paſt he was not ſuch a Prince as he had been repreſented by his Enemies,* (i. e.) *an Oppreſſor, but a Father of his People.* And now the Church of *England*, which had merited ſo many Solemn Promiſes for their Protection, were to have an experiment how well he would perform them; for he makes an Order in Council, That his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience ſhould be read in all Churches and Chappels throughout the Kingdom: Againſt the Publiſhing whereof, the Seven Biſhops, who were then on the ſpot, in behalf of themſelves, and their abſent Brethren, and their Clergy, humbly preſented the following Petition:

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

Humbly ſhewing,

THat the Great Averſions they find in themſelves to the Diſtributing and Publiſhing in all their Churches, Your Majeſty's late Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, proceeds neither from any want of Duty and Obedience

to

to Your Majeſty (our Holy Mother the Church of England, *being both in her Principles, and in her conſtant Practice unqueſtionably Loyal, and having to her great Honour been more then once publickly acknowledged to be ſo by Your gracious Majeſty); nor yet from any want of due tenderneſs to Diſſenters, in relation to whom they are willing to come to ſuch a temper as ſhall be thought fit when that matter ſhall be conſidered and ſetled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other conſiderations, from this eſpecially, becauſe that Declaration is founded on ſuch a Diſpenſing Power, as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament, particularly in* 1662, *and* 1672, *and in the beginning of Your Majeſty's Reign, and is a Matter of ſo great moment and conſequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that Your Petitioners cannot in Prudence, Honour, or Conſcience, ſo far make themſelves Parties to it, as the diſtributing of it all over the Nation, and the ſolemn Publication of it once and again, even in God's Houſe, and in the time of his Divine Service, muſt amount to in common and reaſonable conſtruction. Your Petitioners therefore moſt humbly and earneſtly beſeech Your Majeſty that you would be graciouſly pleaſed not to inſiſt upon the Diſtributing and Reading Your Majeſty's Declaration. And your Petitioners as in Duty bound ſhall ever Pray,* &c.

W. Cant. Tho. Bath and Wells.
W. Aſaph. Tho. Peterborough.
Fr. Ely. Jonathan Briſtol.
Jo. Ciceſt.

To which His Majeſty anſwered:

I Have heard of this before, but did not believe it: I did not expect this from the Church of England, *eſpecially from ſome of you. If I change My Mind, you ſhall hear from Me; if not, I expect My Command ſhall be obeyed.*

The *Reaſons* for not Reading the *Declaration*, given by a *Clergy-man*, being worthy to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, I have here inſerted.

A LETTER from a Clergy-man in the City, to his Friend in the Country, containing his *Reaſons* for not Reading the *Declaration*.

SIR,

I Do not wonder at your concern for finding an Order of Council publiſhed in the Gazette *for Reading the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience in all Churches and Chappels in this Kingdom. You deſire to know my Thoughts about it, and I ſhall freely tell them; for this is not a time to be reſerved.*

Our Enemies who have given our Gracious King this Counſel againſt us, have taken the moſt effectual way, not only to ruine us, but to make us appear the Inſtruments of our own Ruine, that what courſe ſoever we take,

we shall be undone; and one side or other will conclude that we have undone our selves, and fall like Fools.

To lose our Livings and Preferments, nay our Liberties and Lives in a plain and direct opposition to Popery, as suppose for refusing to read Mass in our Churches, or to swear to the Trent-Creed, *is an honourable way of falling, and has the divine comforts of suffering for Christ and his Religion; and I hope there is none of us but can chearfully submit to the Will of God in it. But this is not our present Case; to read the Declaration, is not to read the Mass, nor to profess the* Romish Faith; *and therefore some will judge that there is no hurt in reading it, and that to suffer for such a Refusal, is not to fall like Confessors, but to suffer as Criminals for disobeying the lawful Commands of our Prince: but yet we judge, and we have the concurring Opinions of all the Nobility and Gentry with us, who have already suffered in this Cause, that to take away the Test and Penal Laws at this time, is but one step from the introducing of Popery; and therefore to read such a Declaration in our Churches, though it do not immediately bring Popery in, yet it sets open our Church-doors for it, and then it will take its own time to enter: So that should we comply with this Order, all good Protestants would despise and hate us, and then we may be easily crushed, and shall soon fall with great dishonour, and without any pity. This is the difficulty of our Case; we shall be censured on both sides, but with this difference: We shall fall a little sooner by not reading the Declaration, if our Gracious Prince resent this as an act of an obstinate and pievish or factious Disobedience, as our Enemies will be sure to represent it to him; We shall as certainly fall, and not long after, if we do read it, and then we shall fall unpitied and despised, and it may be with the Curses of the Nation, whom we have ruined by our Compliance; and this is the way never to rise more: And may I suffer all that can be suffered in this World, rather than contribute to the final Ruine of the best Church in the World.*

Let us then examine this matter impartially, as those who have no mind either to ruine themselves, or to ruine the Church: I suppose no Minister of the Church of England *can give his consent to the Declaration. Let us then consider whether reading the Declaration in our Churches be not an interpretative Consent, and will not with great reason be interpreted to be so: For,*

First, *By our Law all Ministerial Officers are accountable for their Actions: The Authority of Superiours, though of the King himself, cannot justifie inferiour Officers, much less the Ministers of State, if they should execute any illegal Commands; which shews, that our Law does not look upon the Ministers of Church or State to be meer Machines and Tools, to be managed wholly by the Will of Superiours, without exercising any Act of Judgment or Reason themselves; for then inferiour Ministers were no more punishable than the Horses are which draw an innocent Man to* Tyburn: *and if inferiour Ministers are punishable, then our Laws suppose that what we do in obedience*

to

to Superiours, we make our own Act by doing it, and I ſuppoſe that ſignifies our Conſent in the eye of the Law, to what we do. It is a Maxime in our Law, That the King can do no wrong; *and therefore if any wrong be done, the Crime and Guilt is the Miniſter's who does it: for the Laws are the King's publick Will, and therefore he is never ſuppoſed to command any thing contrary to Law; nor is any Miniſter, who does an illegal Action, allowed to pretend the King's Command and Authority for it: and yet this is the only Reaſon I know, why we muſt not obey a Prince againſt the Laws of the Land, or the Laws of God, becauſe what we do, let the Authority be what it will that commands it, becomes our own Act, and we are reſponſible for it; and then as I obſerved before, it muſt imply our own Conſent.*

Secondly, *The Miniſters of Religion have a greater tye and obligation than this, becauſe they have the care and conduct of mens Souls, and therefore are bound to take care that what they publiſh in their Churches, be neither contrary to the Laws of the Land, nor to the good of the Church: For the Miniſters of Religion are not lookt upon as common Cryers, but what they Read, they are ſuppoſed to recommend too, tho' they do no more than Read it; and therefore to read any thing in the Church, which I do not conſent to and approve, nay which I think prejudicial to Religion, and the Church of God, as well as contrary to the Laws of the Land, is to Miſ-guide my People, and to Diſſemble with God and Men; becauſe it is preſum'd, that I neither do, nor ought to read any thing in the Church, which I do not in ſome degree approve. Indeed, let mens private Opinions be what they will, in the nature of the thing, he that Reads ſuch a Declaration to his People, teaches them by it: For is not Reading Teaching? Suppoſe then I do not conſent to what I Read, yet I conſent to teach my People what I read: and herein is the evil of it; for it may be it were no fault to conſent to the Declaration, but if I conſent to teach my People what I do not conſent to myſelf, I am ſure that is a great one: And he who can diſtinguiſh between conſenting to read the Declaration, and conſenting to teach the People by the Declaration, when reading the Declaration is teaching it, has a very ſubtile diſtinguiſhing-Conſcience. Now if conſenting to read the Declaration be a conſent to teach it my People, then the natural Interpretation of Reading the Declaration, is, That he who Reads it, in ſuch a ſolemn teaching-manner, Approves it. If this be not ſo, I deſire to know, why I may not read an Homily for Tranſubſtantiation, or Invocation of Saints, or the Worſhip of Images, if the King ſends me ſuch good Catholic Homilies, and commands me to read them? And thus we may inſtruct our People in all the Points of Popery, and recommend it to them with all the Sophiſtry and artificial Inſinuations, in obedience to the King, with a very good Conſcience, becauſe without our conſent: If it be ſaid, this would be a contradiction to the Doctrine of our Church by Law eſtabliſhed; ſo I take the Declaration to be: And if we may read the Declaration contrary to Law,*

becauſe it does not imply our conſent to it; ſo we may Popiſh Homilies, for the bare reading them will not imply our conſent, no more than the reading the Declaration does: But whether I conſent to the Doctrine or no, it is certain I conſent to teach my People this Doctrine; and it is to be conſidered, whether an honeſt Man can do this.

Thirdly, *I ſuppoſe no man will doubt, but the King intends, that our Reading the Declaration ſhould ſignifie to the Nation, our Conſent and Approbation of it; for the Declaration does not want Publiſhing, for it is ſufficiently known already: but our Reading it in our Churches muſt ſerve inſtead of Addreſſes of Thanks, which the Clergy generally refuſed, though it was only to Thank the King for his Gracious Promiſes renewed to the Church of* England, *in his Declaration, which was much more innocent, than to publiſh the Declaration itſelf in our Churches: This would perſwade one, that the King thinks our reading the Declaration, to ſignifie our Conſent, and that the People will think it to be ſo. And he that can ſatisfie his Conſcience, to do an action without conſent, which the nature of the Thing, the deſign and intention of the Command, and the Sence of the People expound to be a Conſent, may, I think, as well ſatisfie himſelf with Equivocations, and mental Reſervations.*

There are two things to be anſwered to this, which muſt be conſidered.

I. *That the People underſtand our Minds, and ſee that this is matter of Force upon us, and meer Obedience to the King. To which I anſwer,*

1. *Poſſibly the People do underſtand that the matter of the Declaration is againſt our Principles: But is this any excuſe, that we read that, and by reading recommend that to them, which is againſt our own Conſciences and Judgments? Reading the Declaration would be no Fault at all, but our Duty, when the King commands it, did we approve of the matter of it; but to conſent to teach our People ſuch Doctrines as we think contrary to the Laws of God, or the Laws of the Land, does not leſſen but aggravate the Fault, and People muſt be very good natured to think this an Excuſe.*

2. *It is not likely that all the People will be of a mind in this matter, ſome may excuſe it, others, and thoſe it may be the moſt, the beſt, and the wiſeſt men, will condemn us for it, and then how ſhall we juſtifie our ſelves againſt their Cenſures? when the World will be divided in their Opinions, the plain way is certainly the beſt, to do what we can juſtifie our ſelves, and then let men judge as they pleaſe. No men in* England *will be pleaſed with our Reading the Declaration, but thoſe who hope to make great advantage of it againſt us, and againſt our Church and Religion: others will ſeverely condemn us for it, and cenſure us as falſe to our Religion, and as Betrayers both of Church and State: and beſides that, it does not become a Miniſter of Religion, to do any thing, which in the opinion of the moſt charitable men can only be excuſed; for what needs an excuſe, is either a fault or looks very like one; beſides*

this

this I ſay, I will not truſt mens Charity; thoſe who have ſuffered themſelves in this Cauſe, will not excuſe us for fear of ſuffering; thoſe who are inclined to excuſe us now, will not do ſo when they conſider the thing better, and come to feel the ill conſequences of it: when our Enemies open their eyes, and tell them what our Reading the Declaration ſignified, which they will then tell us we ought to have ſeen before, though they were not bound to ſee it; for we are to guide and inſtruct them, not they us.

II. *Others therefore think, that when we read the Declaration, we ſhould publickly profeſs, that it is not our own judgment, but that we only read it in obedience to the King; and then our reading it cannot imply our conſent to it: Now this is only* Proteſtatio contra factum, *which all People will laugh at, and ſcorn us for: for ſuch a ſolemn reading it in the time of Divine Service, when all men ought to be moſt grave and ſerious, and far from diſſembling with God or Men, does in the nature of the thing imply our approbation; and ſhould we declare the contrary, when we read it, what ſhall we ſay to thoſe who ask us, Why then do you read it? But let thoſe who have a mind to try this way, which, for my part, I take to be a greater and more unjuſtifiable provocation of the King, than not to read it; and, I ſuppoſe, thoſe who do not read it, will be thought plainer and honeſter men, and will eſcape as well as thoſe who read it and proteſt againſt it: and yet nothing leſs than an expreſs Proteſtation will ſalve this matter; for only to ſay, they read it meerly in obedience to the King, does not expreſs their diſſent: it ſignifies indeed, that they would not have read it, if the King had not commanded it; but theſe words do not ſignifie, that they diſapprove of the Declaration, when their reading it, though only in obedience to the King, ſignifies their approbation of it, as much as actions can ſignifie a conſent: let us call to mind how it fared with thoſe in King* Charles *the Firſt's Reign, who read the* Book of Sports, *as it was called, and then preached againſt it.*

To return then to our Argument: If reading the Declaration in our Churches be in the nature of the action, in the intention of the command, in the opinion of the People, an interpretative conſent to it, I think myſelf bound in conſcience not to read it, becauſe I am bound in conſcience not to approve it:

It is againſt the Conſtitution of the Church of England, *which is eſtabliſhed by Law, and to which I have ſubſcribed, and therefore am bound in conſcience to teach nothing contrary to it, while this Obligation laſts:*

It is to teach an unlimited and univerſal Toleration, which the Parliament in 72 declared illegal, and which has been condemned by the Chriſtian Church in all Ages:

It is to teach my People, that they need never come to Church more, but have my free leave, as they have the King's, to go to a Conventicle, or to Maſs:

It is to teach the Diſpenſing Power, which alters, what has been formerly thought, the whole Conſtitution of this Church and Kingdom: which we dare not do, till we have the Authority of Parliament for it:

It

It is to recommend to our People, the choice of such Persons to sit in Parliament, as shall take away the Test *and* Penal Laws, *which most of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation have declared their Judgments against:*

It is to condemn all those great and worthy Patriots of their Country, who forfeited the dearest thing in the World to them, next a good Conscience, viz. *The favour of their Prince, and a great many honourable and profitable Employments with it, rather than consent to that Proposal of taking away the* Test *and* Penal Laws, *which they apprehend destructive to the* Church of England, *and the* Protestant Religion; *and he who can in conscience do all this, I think, need scruple nothing.*

For let us consider further, what the effects and consequences of our reading the Declaration are like to be, and I think they are matter of Conscience too, when they are evident and apparent.

This will certainly render our Persons and Ministry infinitely contemptible which is against that Apostolick Canon, Let no man despise thee, Tit. 2. 15. *That is, so to behave himself in his Ministerial Office, as not to fall under contempt; and therefore this obliges the Conscience, not to make our selves ridiculous, nor to render our Ministry, our Counsels, Exhortations, Preaching, Writing, of no effect, which is a thousand times worse than being silenced: Our Sufferings will Preach more effectually to the People, when we cannot Speak to them: but he who for Fear or Cowardize, or the Love of this World, betrays his Church and Religion by undue compliances, and will certainly be thought to do so, may continue to Preach, but to no purpose; and when we have rendred our selves ridiculous and contemptible, we shall then quickly fall, and fall unpitied.*

There is nothing will so effectually tend to the final ruin of the Church of England, *because our Reading the Declaration will discourage, or provoke, or misguide, all the Friends the* Church of England *has: can we blame any man for not preserving the Laws and the Religion of our Church and Nation, when we our selves will venture nothing for it? can we blame any man for consenting to Repeal the* Test *and* Penal Laws, *when we recommend it to them by reading the Declaration? have we not reason to expect that the Nobility and Gentry, who have already suffered in this Cause, when they hear themselves condemned for it in all the Churches of* England, *will think it time to mend such a fault, and reconcile themselves to their Prince? and if our Church fall this way, is there any reason to expect that it should ever rise again? These Consequences are almost as evident as Demonstrations, and let it be what it will in itself, which I foresee will destroy the* Church of England *and the* Protestant Religion *and* Interest, *I think I ought to make as much conscience of doing it, as of doing the most immoral action in nature.*

To say, that these mischievous consequences are not absolutely necessary, and

therefore

therefore do not affect the Conſcience, becauſe we are not certain they will follow, is a very mean Objection; Moral Actions indeed have not ſuch neceſſary conſequences, as natural cauſes have neceſſary effects, becauſe no moral cauſes act neceſſarily: reading the Declaration will not as neceſſarily deſtroy the Church of England, *as Fire burns Wood, but if the conſequence be plain and evident, the moſt likely thing that can happen, if it be unreaſonable to expect any other, if it be what is plainly intended and deſigned, either I muſt never have any regard to Moral Conſequences of my Actions, or if ever they are to be conſidered, they are in this Caſe.*

Why are the Nobility and Gentry ſo extreamly averſe to the Repeal of the Teſt *and* Penal Laws? *Why do they forfeit the King's Favour, and their Honourable Stations, rather then comply with it? If you ſay that this tends to deſtroy the* Church of England *and the* Proteſtant Religion, *I ask whether this be the neceſſary conſequence of it? whether the King cannot keep his Promiſe to the* Church of England *if the* Teſt *and* Penal Laws *be Repealed? We cannot ſay, but this may be: and yet the Nation does not think fit to try it; and we commend thoſe Great Men who deny it; and if the ſame Queſtions were put to us, we think we ought in Conſcience to deny them our ſelves: and are there not as high probabilities, that our Reading the Declaration will promote the Repeal of the* Teſt *and* Penal Laws, *as that ſuch a Repeal will ruine our Conſtitution, and bring in Popery upon us? Is it not as probable, that ſuch a compliance in us, will diſoblige all the Nobility and Gentry, who have hitherto been firm to us, as that when the Power of the Nation is put into Popiſh Hands, by the Repeal of ſuch* Teſts *and* Laws, *the* Prieſts *and* Jeſuits *may find ſome* Salvo *for the King's Conſcience, and perſwade him to forget his Promiſe to the* Church of England? *and if the probable ill conſequences of Repealing the* Teſt *and* Penal Laws, *be a good reaſon not to comply with it, I cannot ſee but that the probable ill conſequences of Reading the Declaration, is as good a reaſon not to read it.*

The moſt material Objection is, that the Diſſenters, whom we ought not to provoke, will expound our not Reading it, to be the effect of a perſecuting Spirit: Now I wonder men ſhould lay any weight on this, who will not allow the moſt probable conſequences of our Actions to have any influence upon Conſcience: for if we muſt compare conſequences, to diſoblige all the Nobility and Gentry by Reading it, is likely to be much more fatal, than to anger the Diſſenters: and it is more likely, and there is much more reaſon for it, that one ſhould be offended than the other: For the Diſſenters who are wiſe and conſidering, are ſenſible of the ſnare themſelves, and though they deſire Eaſe and Liberty, they are not willing to have it with ſuch apparent hazard of Church and State: I am ſure that tho' we were never ſo deſirous that they might have their Liberty, (and when there is opportunity of ſhewing our inclinations without danger, they may find that we are not ſuch Perſecutors as

we

we are repreſented) yet we cannot conſent that they ſhould have it this way, which they will find the deareſt Liberty that ever was granted.

This Sir, is our Caſe in ſhort, the Difficulties are great on both ſides, and therefore now if ever, we ought to beſiege Heaven with our Prayers, for Wiſdom, and Counſel, and Courage; that God would protect his Church and Reformed Chriſtianity, againſt all the devices of their Enemies: Which is the daily and hearty Prayer of,

SIR,

May 22. 1688. *Your Friend and Brother.*

Though this Petition was preſented with all humble Submiſſion, and how reaſonable ſoever the Refuſing to publiſh the Declaration was, it was ſo aggravated by Father *Petre*, and others of the Romiſh Perſwaſion, that the Biſhops were ſent for to the Council, and there charged with publiſhing a falſe, malicious, and ſeditious Libel, and by a Warrant of the Council committed to the *Tower*; on which there followed, at leaſt in the hopes and expectations of the Papiſts, ſuch a Scene of Perſecution, as never was ſeen under Queen *Mary*. The Seven Biſhops were by *Habias Corpus* brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar, where was the Chief Juſtice, and an Ignoramus Papiſt *Allebone*, whom one of his Brethren openly expoſed for his falſe Quotations.

Juſtice *Holloway*, and Juſtice *Powel*, after all the pleadings of Counſel on each ſide, the Chief Juſtice gave this direction to the Jury: *That if they believed the Petition preſented by the Biſhops to the King, was the ſame that was produced in Court, then the Publication was ſufficiently proved; if not, the Biſhops were not guilty of the Publication.* And ſecondly, *That any thing tending to diſturb the Government, was* Libellus Famoſus; *and therefore he judged it to be a Libel.* Juſtice *Holloway* ſaid, *That the intention of an action ought to be conſidered; that the Biſhops delivered the Petition with all humility and decency imaginable; and were not Men of evil lives; and it being the Right of every Subject to Petition, ſuch a delivery could be no fault; eſpecially, it being done to ſave themſelves harmleſs, by ſhewing their Reaſons of not obeying the King's Command.* Juſtice *Powel* declared plainly, *That he ſaw nothing of Sedition, or other Crime fixed on the Biſhops, nothing being offered by the King's Counſel to make the Petition falſe or malicious, and deſired the Jury to conſider, That the Biſhops apprehended the Declaration to be illegal, being founded on a Diſpenſing Power; and he did never remember in any Caſe, that there was ſuch a Power in the King, which if true, the Petition could be no Libel*: And laſtly, *That ſuch a Power would amount to an abrogation of all the Laws, and ſo there would be no need of Parliaments, but the whole Legiſlative*

giſlative Power would be in the King ; *which* (ſaid he to the Jury) *is worth your conſideration.*

The Jury accordingly conſidered the Caſe all Night, and in the Morning gave their Verdict for the Biſhops, *Not Guilty*, which cauſed ſuch Acclamations in the Court, as were ecchoed through the Nation. And this Deliverance of the Biſhops, was eſteemed the Freedom of the whole Nation from Popery and Slavery ; and on it the Revolution of our Affairs began.

This Scene of Perſecution being ſo happily broken, we may have leiſure to take a view of that other of the Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs ; which was ſuch an Engine as *Archimedes* fancied he had contrived, that if he had found a place whereon to fix it, it would have unhinged the Globe of the Earth : but as it happened, there was no ſuch place to be found. But this was ſo contrived, as to make the Church a *Felo de ſe*, and to fall by its own hands ; for the Commiſſioners firſt named, were ſome of thoſe that were intended to fall by it ; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, the Lord *Treaſurer*, and *Sunderland*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, and the Lord Chancellor, who was the *Dominus Factotum*, in conjunction with whom, any Two might act ; and ſuch Three might take Cogniſance of any Caſe that was under the Eccleſiaſtical Laws ; they might Viſit both the Univerſities, the Cathedrals, and Collegiate Churches, Pariſh-Churches, Schools, and Hoſpitals ; they might abrogate Old and make New Laws, with a *Non Obſtante* to any Right, or ancient Conſtitution ; and all their Acts were to be confirmed by a New Seal, having this Inſcription, *Sigillum Regiæ Majeſtatis ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas*. But the Commiſſion was ſo unwarrantable and ill deſigned, that the moſt conſiderable Men refuſed to act by it ; in whoſe room other confiding Men are named, (*viz.*) the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Wright*, and Baron *Jenner* ; ſo that the Chancellor could never want Two of his own Diſtemper to act with him.

The R. R. the Biſhop of *London* was a Perſon of ſuch extraordinary merit, that he was pitcht on, as the firſt that was fit to ſuffer by this new ſort of Oſtraciſme, but finding no pretence for an Accuſation in him, from any act of his own, he muſt ſuffer for another's ſin imputed to him ; or rather for a wicked invention of their own ; for thus it was : Dr. *Sharp* of the Dioceſs of *London*, a Divine of known Integrity and Loyalty, as well as of Parts and Prudence, was repreſented to the King, as one that had preached Seditiouſly, and endeavoured to alienate the Affections of His Majeſty's Subjects from him : whereof the Doctor being adviſed, endeavours by all means to clear himſelf ; and by good Advice draws up a Petition to His Ma-

jeſty, declaring, How faithfully he had ſerved Him and his Brother, and had ſtudiouſly endeavoured to ſuppreſs all Doctrines and Practices tending to Sedition, *&c.* But the Doctor could never find opportunity to preſent his Petition, for the Scene was otherwiſe laid, and thus it opened: A Letter was procured from the King to the Biſhop of *London*, importing, That his Majeſty being fully ſatisfied that Dr. *John Sharp*, Rector of St. *Giles's*, had reflected on his Majeſty, and on his Government, he commanded the Biſhop forthwith (right or wrong) to ſuſpend him. The Biſhop returned an Anſwer to the Earl of *Sunderland* to this effect: *That his Majeſty's Command could not be complied with, being contrary to Law; becauſe no Judges* (as he was) *could condemn any Man, before he was heard what he could ſay for himſelf:* So that he was to ſuffer for what in Juſtice he could not do. On the Fourth of *Auguſt* he appears before the Commiſſioners, and the Chancellor asks him the Reaſon, *Why he ſuſpended not Dr.* Sharp, *according to the King's Order?* The Biſhop anſwered, *That he had received ſuch an Order, and if he had done contrary to his Duty, it was his ignorance, and not a wilful neglect.* The Chancellor replies, *That his Lordſhip ought to have known the Law: and however, that the King ought to be obeyed.* To which the Biſhop replied, *That if a Prince required a Judge to execute a Command not agreeable to Law, it was his Duty,* Reſcribere & reclamare prineipi; *which he did by the Lord Preſident; and that he had done in effect what the King commanded, adviſing the Doctor to forbear Preaching in his Dioceſs.* After this, with ſome difficulty, his Councel were admitted to plead, who juſtified the Biſhop's Anſwer: and then the Biſhop offered, *That if through miſtake he had erred in any Circumſtance, he was ready to beg his Majeſty's Pardon, and to make any reparation he was able.* But in ſhort, at his next appearing, he had his Sentence read, *(viz.) That* Henry *Lord Biſhop of* London, *being conven'd before the Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, for his Diſobedience, and other Contempts; and being fully heard, was by them declared, deemed, and pronounced, Suſpended from the Function and Execution of his Epiſcopal Office.* In this one Noble Biſhop the whole Hierarchy of *England* were ſtruck at, and his Sentence but a Prologue to the Tragedy intended; the next Scene of which was this:

On the Ninth of *February*, Dr. *Peachel*, Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, receiv'd a Mandate under the King's Signet Manual, to admit one Father *Francis*, a *Benedictine* Monk, Maſter of Arts, without taking the uſual Oaths; which the Vice-Chancellor, by the unanimous Conſent of the Univerſity refuſed, perceiving their Priviledges and Properties to be in danger; and upon their offering the Oaths to Father *Francis*, and his refuſing to take them, they denied him that Degree;

Degree; whereupon the Vice-Chancellor was ſummoned by a Meſſenger to appear before the Commiſſioners in perſon, and the Senate by their Deputies: Upon their appearance, the Vice-Chancellor was asked, *Why he had not obeyed the King's Command, in admitting Father* Francis? To which they gave their Anſwer in Writing: Shewing, *That by ſeveral Acts of Parliament,* (viz.) 1° & 5° Eliz. *by which it was ordained, No Man ſhould be promoted to any Degree, without taking an Oath to acknowledge the King's Supremacy,* &c. And 3° & 9° *Jacobi primi,* it was enacted, *That the Oath of Allegiance ſhould be taken and adminiſtred by the Vice-Chancellor, and all the Principals of Houſes, and by every Perſon that ſhould be promoted to any Degree, for the preſervation of the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *and the King's Prerogative: which Oaths the ſaid* Francis *refuſed.* And they pleaded alſo, *That the admiſſion to a Degree, was not of Eccleſiaſtical, but Temporal Cognizance. And that by a Statute* 16 Charles II. *No Court ſhould be erected, having like Power, Juriſdiction, and Authority as the High Commiſſion Court had, but ſhould be utterly void.* After ſome Debate, the Chancellor pronounced the Vice-Chancellor deprived of his Office, and ſuſpended *ab Officio & Beneficiò,* of his Headſhip of *Magdalen* Colledge, and forbid him to meddle with any publick buſineſs in the Univerſity.

This is another inſtance of the King's good will to the Church of *England*, and his unalterable obſerving his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience. And now the other Siſter, the Univerſity of *Oxford* muſt partake of the ſame favour, where Dr. *Walker* a profeſſed Papiſt is made Head of *Univerſity* Colledge; and one *Maſſey*, a Popiſh Proſelite, Dean of *Chriſt-Church*; and Dr. *Clerk* Preſident of *Magdalen* Colledge being dead, one Mr. *Farmer* procured the King's Mandate to ſucceed him; againſt whom they petitioned his Majeſty, as being a ſcandalous perſon, and not qualified as their Statutes required; and they proceeded in a regular way to Elect Dr. *Hough* their Preſident, who being preſented to their Viſitor, was ſworn and admitted; but being told of the King's diſpleaſure, they complained of their Unhappineſs to the Duke of *Ormond* their Chancellor, and the Biſhop of *Winchester* their Viſitor, that they were reduced to a neceſſity either of diſobeying the King, or wronging their Conſciences. And that after his Majeſty's Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, but *Gallio* cared for none of theſe things, the Commiſſioners cite the Fellows or their Delegates to appear before them. Their Delegates were Dr. *Aldworth*, Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr. *Smith*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Dobſon*, and Mr. *Fairer*, who gave in their Plea to this effect: *That they were bound by their Oaths not to admit any to that Office, but ſuch as were Fellows of that,* or New-Colledge, *which Mr.* Farmer *was not: That*

they were not to admit any, but such did first swear to observe the Statutes of the Colledge: That they were sworn not to admit any Dispensations by any Authority whatsoever; and that they had Elected Dr. Hough, *who was qualified as the Statutes required.* Mr. *Farmer* on proofs of his Incapacity was laid aside, and another Mandate sent for admission of the Bishop of *Oxford.* And shortly after the King coming to *Oxford,* ordered the Fellows to attend him at *Christ-Church,* and then told them, *He had known them to be a stubborn and turbulent Colledge for Twenty Six Years; taxed them with their Church of* England *Loyalty; and bid them go home, and know that he was their King, and would be obeyed; and such as refused to admit the Bishop of* Oxford, *should feel the weight of his Displeasure:* But without dread of these Menaces, and the intended Persecution, they persisted to refuse the Bishop of *Oxon,* against whom they had the like Objections as against Mr. *Farmer,* the Bishop having *Judas*-like betrayed his Master, that had preferred him to that Honour, which he resolv'd to rise to, *(viz.)* a Coach and Six Horses, which was the Religion he resolv'd to adhere to; but for these causes they were all expelled, and made uncapable of any Preferment, and all to make way for a Seminary of Papists.

For these breaches being made in the Walls and Towers of our *Sion,* and there being an Army of Locusts in the Land, which waited an opportunity to storm, kill, and take possession, there being at the same time a *Nuntio* from *Rome,* who was publickly feasted at the *Guild-Hall, London,* and an Ambassador at *Rome,* a numerous Spawn of Jesuits and Fryars, who were seen in their several Habits, Schools, Publick Houses appointed for them; and Four Bishops appointed to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

Ireland being secured in the hands of Papists; *Scotland* over-awed by an Army; and the *Fleet* and *Tower of London* in confiding hands; the Popish Lords being the Cabinet Council, and *Peters* the Jesuit chief Minister of State. What could be expected but a total overthrow of the Church? and that the King's Age and Infirmities being considered, that they should with all violence push on for our Destruction? But God infatuated the Counsels of all these *Achitophels,* and what they designed for our Ruine, was by his gracious and wise Providence, turned to our preservation: For whereas the King to secure the Popish Interest, and to establish his Proclamation for *Liberty of Conscience,* to which the Prince and Princess of *Orange* could by no means be drawn to give their consent, the King was prevailed with to own a Supposititious Child, as Heir to his Dominions, that he might give a new life to the Popish and Fanatick Interests: But this, and his sense of the Protestant Cause, which was then in a decaying condition, stirred

up

up the Spirit of our preſent King, to vindicate the Cauſe of the *Engliſh* Church, and his own, and his Conſort's Title to the Crown; and the Severity uſed to the Biſhops, and the Univerſities; and the Affront done to the *Engliſh* Souldiers, by bringing ſome thouſands of *Iriſh* Cut-Throats, and preferring them above the *Engliſh*, did ſtem the Tide; and immediately upon the Arrival of the Prince's Army, there followed a great Revolt of the Nobility, Souldiery, and Gen[illegible] of the Land, who marching towards *London*, became formidable to the King, who coming as far as *Salisbury*, intending to fight the Prince, found himſelf ſo deſerted, that he returned in great haſte to *London*; and conſidering into what ſtreights his precipitant Counſels had brought him, he ſends for ſuch Biſhops as were in, or near *London*, to have their Advice in that critical Juncture, which with all poſſible humility and integrity they did to this effect: 1. *That it was neceſſary for him to reſtore all things to the ſtate wherein he found them when he came to the Crown, by committing all Offices and Places of Government to ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry as were qualified for them according to the Laws, and by redreſſing and removing ſuch Grievances as were generally complained of; particularly, that his Majeſty would diſſolve the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, and promiſe to his People never to Erect any ſuch Court for the future.* 2. *That he would not only put an effectual ſtop to the iſſuing forth of any Diſpenſations, but would call in, and cancel all thoſe which ſince his coming to the Crown had been obtained from him.* 3. *That he would reſtore the Univerſities to their Legal State, Statutes, and Cuſtoms; and particularly reſtore the Maſter of* Magdalen *Colledge in* Cambridge, *and the ejected Preſident and Fellows of* Magdalen *Colledge in* Oxford, *to their Properties* 4. *And that he would not permit any Perſons to enjoy any Preferments in either Univerſity, but ſuch as were qualified by the Statutes, and Laws of the Land.* 5. *That he would ſuppreſs the* Jeſuits *Schools opened in* London, *or elſe-where, and grant no more Licenſes for ſuch Schools as were againſt the Laws of the Land, and his Majeſties true intereſt.* 6. *That he would ſend Inhibitions after the Four Romiſh Biſhops, who under the Title of Apoſtolick Vicars, did preſume to exerciſe within this Kingdom, ſuch Juriſdictions as are by the Laws of the Land inveſted in the Biſhops of the Church of* England. 7. *That he would not ſuffer any more* Quo Warranto's *to be ſued out againſt any Corporations, but reſtore to ſuch as had been diſturbed their ancient Charters, Priviledges, and Immunities, and condemn all thoſe illegal Regulations that had been made.* 8. *That he would fill up all the vacant Biſhopricks in* England *and* Ireland, *with Perſons duly qualified; and eſpecially conſider the See of* York, *whoſe want of an Archbiſhop is very prejudicial to the whole Province.* 9. *That he would act no more, nor inſiſt on the Diſpenſing Power, but leave it to be de-*

bated

bated and ſetled by Act of Parliament. 10. *That on the Reſtoration of Corporations, he would iſſue Writs for a Free Parliament, for redreſſing of Grievances in Church and State, upon juſt and ſolid Foundations; and to eſtabliſh due Liberty of Conſcience.* Laſtly, and above all, *That his Majeſty would permit ſome of his Biſhops to lay ſuch Motives and Arguments before him, as might by the Bleſſing of God, bring back his Majeſty to the Communion of the Church of* England, *into whoſe Catholick Faith he had been Baptized, in which he had been Educated, and to which it was their earneſt Prayer to Almighty God, that his Majeſty might be re-united.*

Had theſe ſober and pious Counſels been accepted then, when the Biſhop's Petition was rejected as a falſe, malitious, and ſeditious Libel, the King might have been ſtill ſetled on the Throne; but he had paſt the Rubicon, and was reſolved to fight out his way for the eſtabliſhing the Popiſh Religion againſt all oppoſition; and being deſerted by his *Engliſh* Forces hath reſolutely caſt himſelf on the *French* and *Iriſh*; and what hath been done againſt the eſtabliſhed Church there, cannot amount to leſs than a Perſecution. And ſuch a one muſt we have expected, had not God's Almighty Arm baſled their Antichriſtian Deſigns.

Now if the Popiſh Party have been ſo haſty and violent in perſecuting the Church, as ſoon as they got Power into their hands; notwithſtanding all that kindneſs and moderation manifeſted to them, to the great regret of the other Diſſenters, who thought themſelves leſs gently dealt with. I know not what more gentle uſage the Church could expect from them, who have ſo long and loudly cried out of Perſecution, and for Forty or Fifty Years together, covenanted to root out Epiſcopacy and Liturgy, and perpetuated that Obligation to the preſent Generation; ſo that the bitter Spirit of the *Smectymnuans* ſeem to ſurvive ſtill in the preſent Diſſenters, who ſtill maintain the Old Gauſe; and if ever the Power ſhould return to their hands, as in the time of the Long Parliament, would fly as high, and fall on the ſame Game; for a Lyon is no leſs a Lyon while he is reſtrained within a Den, and loaden with Chains, but grows uſually more raging when let looſe, and *Maledicus à malefico non diſtat niſi occaſione:* Thoſe ravenons Beaſts that do rent a Man in *Effigie*, do manifeſt what they would do in *Corpore*, as the *Donatiſts*, who firſt ſlew the Orthodox *Gladio Oris*, did as they had opportunity deſtroy them *Ore Gladii*. I think it will be a difficult Province for a very good Orator, to perſwade the Church of *England*, that ſuch Diſſenters as have all along ſtruck at the Root, will be contented if a few Branches were cut off.

When

When the Winds and Storms rage, the Husband-men will part with the Branches to preſerve the Root; I may part with a Coat or a Cloak to an importunate Brother, but if he to enrich himſelf, by making me poor, continues craving till he ſtrips me to the skin, and leaves me naked, I am not ſo much charitable to him, as cruel to myſelf: Had the Diſſenters in 62 asked leſs, they might have had more granted; but when they crave all, they deſerve nothing; if the ſame Leaven do begin to ſwell and ferment the Spirits of Men [illegible], as then, we are commanded to be aware of them. We had no ſooner paſt a Fiery Tryal in the Twenty Years Perſecution by the Diſſenters, but were under another Twenty Years Tryal, under the Papiſts, though it did not appear ſo viſible and ſucceſsful, till of late. And if the Papiſts ſhould be asked who were the Perſecutors in the firſt Twenty Years, they muſt anſwer the Diſſenters; if we ſhould ask the Diſſenters, whether the Papiſts or the Church of *England* were the perſecuted Party in the laſt Twenty Years, it muſt be anſwered the Papiſts were; for though their frequent Attempts to deſtroy the Church proved abortive, as there may be many traiterous Conſpiracies againſt the Life of a Prince, though he ſurvive them all, and bring the Conſpirators to condign puniſhment, as in the Powder-Plot.

Cain might have been called a Perſecutor of *Abel*, though he had not ſlain him; and *Iſhmael*'s cruel mocking of his Brother, is called a perſecuting of him. And if the ſame bitterneſs of Spirit do reign in the *Engliſh*, as hath ſhewn itſelf in the *Scottiſh* Presbytery, the Epiſcopal Party may well be jealous of them; and few, I ſuppoſe, will be of the Opinion of *W. J. That the Removal of our Ceremonies will be an equivalent compenſation for the ſhedding of as much Blood, and exhauſting as much Treaſure, as was ſhed and exhauſted in the late inhumane Civil War*: Where the Royal Martyr, the Archbiſhop, many Nobles, innumerable Gentry and Commons, were ſacrificed for a Reformation of Ceremonies; but I hope ſuch fury will not poſſeſs the hearts of any Diſſenters in this Age.

To Conclude:

The Church is ſtill through the wonderful Providence of God in the legal poſſeſſion of her Rights, ſhe is neither Popiſhly affected, nor of a perſecuting Spirit or Power; ſhe hath learnt by her own Suffering for Conſcience-ſake, how to pity ſuch as are truly conſcientious; but if any man be contentious, and will deny her that liberty which they challenge to themſelves, I ſhall only ſay with the Apoſtle,

We

[illegible] contrary; and do readily joyn in her Worship [illegible] and I suppose their Judgments are as solid, and their Consciences as tender as any of our Dissenters, who yet look on our Church as Beth-haven, and a House of Bondage.'

FINIS.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

1. A *Resolution of Certain Queries, concerning Submission to the Present Government. The Queries.* 1. *Concerning the Original of Government.* 2. *What is the Constitution of the Government of* England? 3. *What Obligation lies on the King by the Coronation-Oath?* 4. *What Obligation lies on the Subject by the Oaths of Supremacy, &c.* 5. *Whether if the King Violate his Oath, and actually Destroys the Ends of it, the Subjects are freed from their Obligation to him?* 6. *Whether the King hath Renounced or Deserted the Government?* 7. *Whether on such Desertion, the People, to preserve themselves from Confusion, may admit another, what Method is to be used in such Admission?* 8. *Whether the Settlement now made, is a Lawful Establishment, and such as with a good Conscience may be Submitted to?*

2. *A full Answer to all the Popular Objections that have yet appear'd, for not taking the Oath of Allegiance to their present Majesties, particularly offered to the Consideration of all such of the Divines of the Church of* England, *(and others) as are yet unsatisfied: Shewing, both from Scripture and the Laws of the Land, the Reasonableness thereof, and the Ruining Consequences, both to the Nation and Themselves, if not complied with.*

3. The Historian Unmask'd: *Or, Some Reflections on the late History of* Passive Obedience. *Wherein the Doctrine of* Passive Obedience, *and* Non-Resistance *is truly Stated and Asserted.*

By a Divine of the Church of *England.*

All Three Printed by *Freeman Collins*; and are to be Sold by *Richard Baldwin*, in the *Old-Bailey*. 1689.